

Fig. 84 - Engaged column L. 129 and the scattered remains of bust 18, view from west.

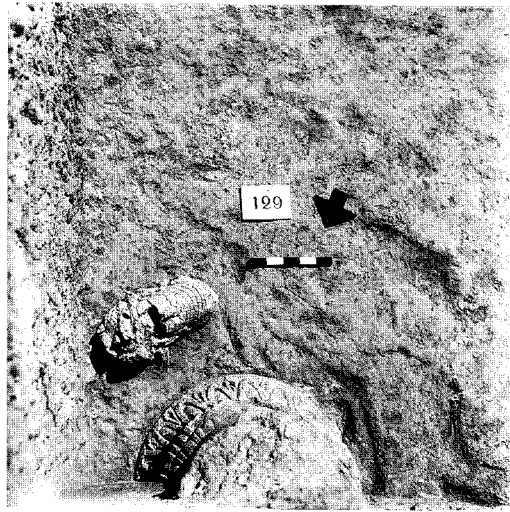


Fig. 85 - Engaged column L. 129 and the scattered remains of bust 18, view from above.

The mouth is proportionally too small and its length is even less than the width of the nose.

The outline of the beard is semicircular and its curls are shown by incised undulating and vertical lines together with five incised lines following the beard's outline.

The right ear is mostly damaged and lost and only a small part of its lower lap and earring is preserved. But enough is preserved of the left ear to give an idea of its original form. The earflap is made up of a relief band, and the lower part of the lobe is long and rectangular in shape.

The earring consists of a small bead from which a large ovoid pendant hangs. Two bunches of hair, each consisting of seven spirally twisted long locks fill the area between the head and the shoulder. The greater part of these locks is more or less well preserved. Because the missing parts belong to the areas that had joined them to the head and neck of the bust, however, an exact reconstruction of their original position is impossible. The reconstruction on plate VIII and figures 82-83, therefore, is only approximate.

The neck is mostly preserved but is broken in pieces. The necklace is a band composed of two narrow lateral rims and a central beaded band. The beads are of two different sizes, but are approximately rectangular in shape. The circular pendant of the necklace hangs in the

middle of the chest, over the breast bone. It has an outer ring and a central flat area.

Apart from a short shallow incised line under the pendant, there is no other sign of folds or any other treatments of the garment. In any case, too small a piece of the chest has survived to give us any notion of the treatment the garment may have had received.

19. 1155-1 to 8-3

Figs. 86-88

L. 131

A male personage.

It is probably worked out in a three-quarter view. The object, it must be emphasized, is in a very poor condition and great parts of it are broken and missing. The reconstruction of the bust as can be seen on figure 86 is hypothetical and approximate.

Most of the hair and part of the face are preserved (1155-2, 3, 4). Four rows of tightly coiled curls are divided into two parts. The curls on either side of this line are symmetrically arranged but their number on the right of the partition line is smaller than those on the left, suggesting the three-quarter perspective of the bust.

The lowermost row of the curls spreads out of a broken (and missing) diadem. Of the latter, only the terminal decorative lozenge of the right side and a very small portion of its fillet are preserved. The lozenge element has

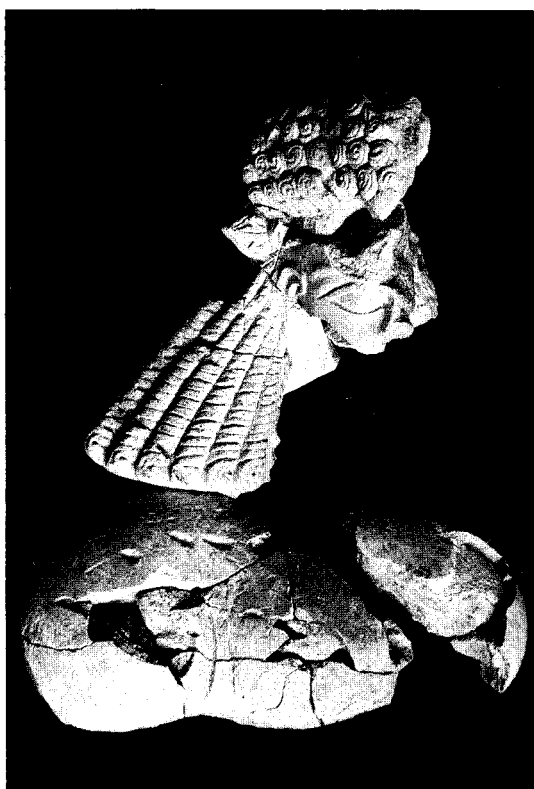


Fig. 86 - Stucco, cat. no. 19, field label 1155-1 to 8-3; large-scale bust of a male personage.

a narrow rim and its surface is decorated with a trilobate leaf.

A very small portion of the forehead and the eyebrow is preserved. The preserved part of the eyebrow is a slightly curved relief which continues to a point very close to the ear. A somewhat depressed surface ending in an incised line and a flat band marks the upper eyelid. The last two elements together markedly emphasize the size of the bust's eye.

A bunch of hair, composed of six long twisted locks (1155-8) is also present. Its full size and form suggest that it belonged to that part of the head which did not face the wall.

The bulk of the shoulders and the breast of the bust have also been reconstructed. The two larger pieces constitute the right side of the body and the shoulder; they were easily glued together. The position of a third piece, most probably the left shoulder, is less clear; however, the trunk of the bust had in all likelihood been worked in a frontal view.

A vertical relief band on the larger piece may represent a fold of the garment between the breast and the armpit.

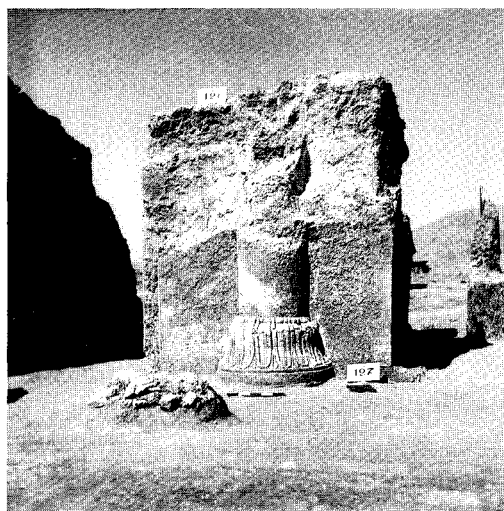


Fig. 87 - Engaged column L. 127 and the scattered remains of bust 19, view from south.

There are other, smaller pieces also found with the above-described parts. The patterns of some of them leave no doubt that they also belonged to this bust.

Unfortunately it was not possible to determine the exact relationship of these small fragments to the above-mentioned major sections, and for this reason they are not among those pictured in figure 86. The fragments in question consist of:

- 1155-1: probably the terminal, decorative lozenge of the diadem on the left side of the head;
- 1155-5 and 7: probably parts of the body.

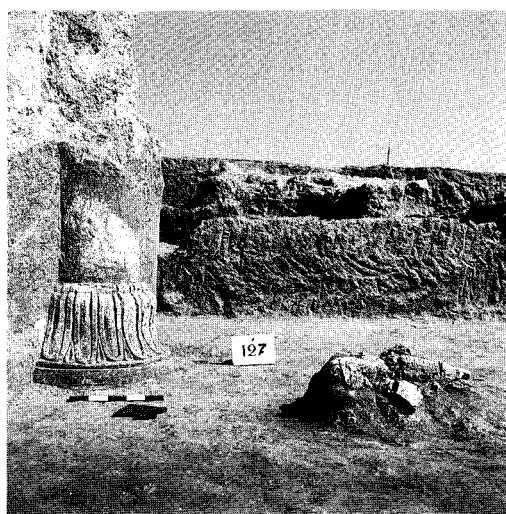


Fig. 88 - Engaged column L. 127 and the scattered remains of bust 19, view from east.

2. Medium-sized busts

The busts of this group are or had been applied on circular plates the diameter of which is – judging from a still complete example (114-85-5) – ca. 340 mm. These are ca. 26 mm thick.

There are two subdivisions among the busts fixed on these plates. The two groups are distinguished by quantitative as well as qualitative criteria.

The first group is composed of the royal busts, of which only one example has survived in more or less full size. The height of this specimen is about 300 mm. To this height another 105 mm, the height of the globe over the crown, must be added. Therefore, the total height of the bust could reach ca. 405 mm. This bust is ca. 275 mm wide from shoulder to shoulder.

The second group depicts five noblemen. The average height of these busts is ca. 307 mm. Nevertheless there is ca. 60 mm difference between the height of the tallest bust (114-85-5, 340 mm and probably even somewhat more) and the shortest one (1080-1-4, 280 mm). This difference, as we shall see, results from the difference in the shape of the hairdress and the headgear. The width of these busts (from shoulder to shoulder) is invariably ca. 310 mm.

All six busts are identical) have almost exactly the same form and seem to be cast in the same mould. Therefore, a description of the general aspects of these busts, established with the help of the two better preserved ones (114-85-5 and 1080-1-4) can provide us with sufficient information about the other three. Changes among them are found in the details. These variations will be treated within discussions of each individual bust.

These busts are depicted frontally and in a very high relief. Their forehead has a smooth and flat surface. The very long and bow-shaped eyebrows are shown without any significant relief. They result from the meeting of two surfaces; those of the forehead and the upper eyelid. The eyebrows meet at the bridge of the nose and extend to a point quite close to the ears.

The eyes are large and almond-shaped. The upper eyelid is marked by a relief band. An

incised circle represents the iris and a dot the pupil. Whereas the thick upper lid attracts attention and emphasizes the largeness of the eyes, the lower lid is totally absent.

The busts have gently curved, proportionate nose and undulating moustaches which extend well beyond either cheek. The moustache is shown by incised lines on a relief band. The lines are more or less parallel in the middle of the moustache but join at each end of the relief band to curve slightly upward.

The thick beard is shown by a more or less rectangular (or rather incomplete conical) block with clear cut straight sides. Its surface is convex. The curls are represented by incised, parallel (curved) horizontal lines and undulating vertical ones. With one exception (114-85-5), the horizontal lines are curved upward and look less and less bowed as they approach the lower limit of the beard. In this part, the convex surface of the bulk of the beard gradually flattens as well. The upper-



Fig. 89 - - Stucco, cat. no. 20, field label 114-95 (a-b)-30; medium-sized bust of Šapur II.



Fig. 90 - Stucco, cat. no. 20, field label 114-95 (a-b)-30; medium-sized bust of Šāpūr II.



Fig. 91 - Stucco, cat. no. 20, field label 114-95 (a-b)-30; medium-sized bust of Šāpūr II.

most horizontal curved lines join the earlobes.

The lobes are clear-cut rectangles. The earrings consist of a large ovoidal bead hanging from two smaller flat beads.

Two bunches of hair, each composed of five long twisted locks, hang on either side of the head and neck and rest on the shoulders. A series of rather irregular – but on the whole parallel – lines are incised on the surface of each lock. The locks end in spiral curls. Conical in shape, the locks are narrow at the top. The first three inner locks are nearly straight, while the other two are slightly curved. Each bunch is also convex in section namely the locks gradually move to the back of the shoulder.

A necklace runs along the ring of the collar. The garment bears no fold but is decorated by three large vertical bands – one on each shoulder and arm, and the third one on the chest. The lateral bands are not symmetrically

placed but the one on the right side is closer to the collar and the breast than that on the left side.

20. 114-95 (a-b)-30

Pl. XVIII and Figs. 89-91

L. 114

A royal personage.

The plate on which this bust was fixed has for the most part been lost. The bust itself is in two pieces. The fracture extends from one shoulder, across the neck, to the other shoulder. Moreover, its overall condition is poor. Almost the whole of the head and headgear, the face – except part of the beard –, parts of the hair clusters and garment are totally destroyed or worn off. In spite of this what has survived of the headgear is enough to provide the base for a reconstruction of the crown.

The original pattern of the crown is still visible on the left side. It probably shows half of a stepped crenelation, the uppermost mer-

of the cheek and pass through a cylindrical ring to form an ovoidal mass on the chest. The curls on the cheeks and chin are shown in the form of perforated roundels while those on the ovoidal mass are half, round, beads. The helix is a curved band, very much like a question mark. The ear ring, judging from the right ear of the bust, is composed of a pendant hanging from the ear lobe by a chain of two links.

The surface of the hair cluster on the left shoulder is totally eroded. That of the right cluster, however, is covered by long, wavy locks of hair. Six such locks, spreading outward from the area behind the ear and earring and under the triangular decoration of the diadem, cover more than half of the preserved cluster. Of the curls beneath these and further outward, only the end roundels are shown. There are five such roundels on the second row and four on the third one.

The bust bears a necklace of clearly defined and well separated beads. The middle part of the necklace is covered by the beard's end. The part of the garment which is still clearly distinguishable is a cape, the folded part of which covers the shoulders. The ends of the cape are linked to two rings fastened together by two ribbons tied on the chest and under the beard's end like a neck-tie. The hanging ends of the ribbons have parallel folds, shown by incised lines.

Part of another similar bust's right shoulder (114-84-31, Pl. XVIII) is also uncovered. On this second example details of the royal garment are much better preserved.

Another stucco piece (S-67-32) shows part of the neck-tie, similar to that of the bust described. The last two objects (114-84-31 and S-67-32) prove that originally, at least three such busts existed in this building.

21. 114-85-5

Pls. IX, XVII and Figs. 92-94
L. 114

This bust bears a hat. The front part of the tapered brim of the hat is partly missing. On each side of this flat crest which, in the manner of a Phrygian cap, extends upward, there is an emblem (Fig. 94) composed of a heart-shaped device attached at its narrow end, to

lon of which is against the background, i.e. the surface of the round plate. From here the steps of the crenelation come down towards the forehead.

It is possible, though hardly plausible, that this pattern was formed by erosion. What is undeniable, however, is the fact that part of the crown (comprising the uppermost merlon) extends obliquely upward in the shape of a plain and even surface. This could easily be the external surface of a crenelated crown enlarging upwards.

Under this section there is a row of curls, now mostly eroded. The hair curls run in opposite direction, from the sides towards the middle of the forehead. Of the spirals which rise from the edge of the bust's diadem, two nearly complete, and part of a third one, have been preserved on the right side, facing inward. On the left side, one complete curl and part of a second one are still visible. These also face the middle of the forehead.

The diadem is a flat, apparently undecorated band, ending in a triangular ornament on each side. The surface of the triangles is divided into three undecorated bands. From beneath the triangular endings on either side of the head, two narrow ribbons ripple outward. The undulation of the ribbons is asymmetrical. On both sides the end of the ribbons is broken, making it thus impossible to determine their length and form.

Except for a very limited part, the forehead is totally damaged. A pointed, pyramidal shaped projection on the supposed area of the forehead, right above the nose, is the only surviving portion of an unidentifiable element. It is extremely hard to recognize the original form of this element. If it is not another aspect of the erosion, then it could be the remaining portion of what had once been part of the headgear or diadem.

Owing to natural elements or deliberate destruction, nothing of the eyes has survived. This is also the case of the nose which appears only as a vague projection in the middle of the face.

The mouth which is hardly traceable is superimposed by a partially preserved moustache. This is an undulated moustache with the ends turned upward.

The beard's curls tightly follow the outline

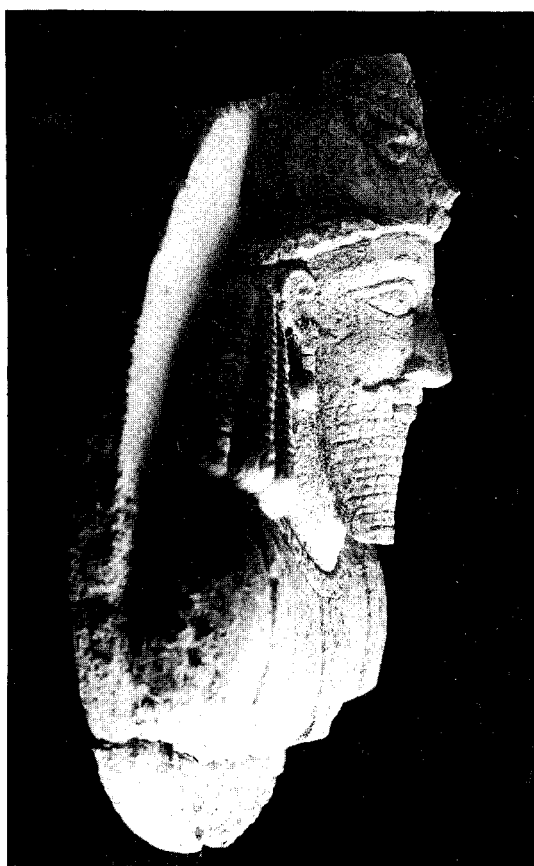


Fig. 92 - Stucco, cat. no. 21, field label 114-85-5; medium-sized bust of a male personage.

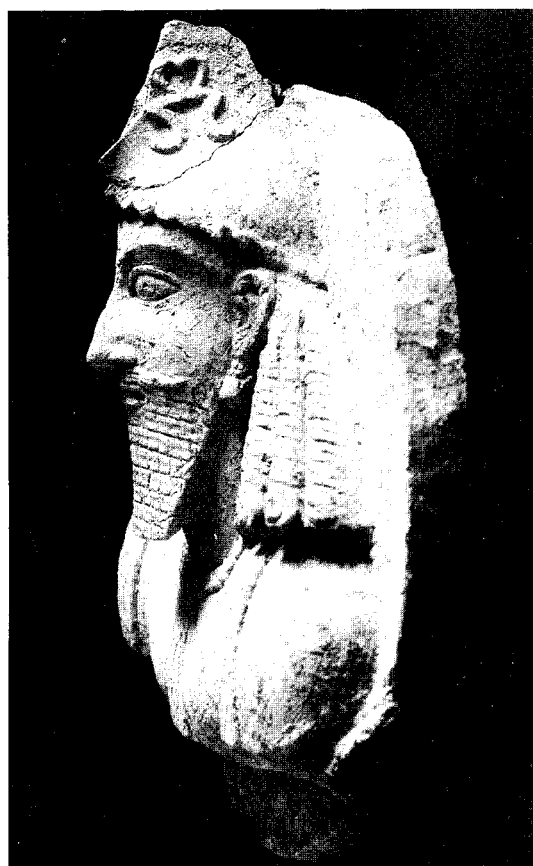


Fig. 93 - Stucco, cat. no. 21, field label 114-85-5; medium-sized bust of a male personage.

an oblique bar. The bar ends, on either side, in a hanging hook, so that the whole of the lower part is very much like a pair of upside down horns.

The rest of the surface of the hat is plain but its rim is beaded. On the left side of the forehead the beads are clearly oval and longitudinally organized while, on the right side, they are sometimes vertically depicted.

The regularly wrought beads of the necklace are of two kinds: the long and vertical beads alternate with round ones. The round beads have a slightly concave surface with a hole in its center.

Each decorative vertical band of the garment is divided in three sections: two narrow, lateral bands and a wider central one. The central section, on all three decorative bands of the garment, is decorated by incised lines regularly crossing each other to form uninterrupted lozenges.

114-99-40 is the head and face of a second example of 114-85-5.



0 1 3 cm

Fig. 94 - Emblem of the hat of stucco no. 21.

22. 1080-1-4

Pls. X, XIII-XIV

L. 114

Aside from a simple diadem, this bust bears no other headgear. The headdress consists of three superimposed rows of spiral curls. Each row is divided into two symmetrical sections. The sections beginning on either side of the head, continue inward in opposite directions to meet at a point on or around the central axis of the bust's face.

band. Three pairs of curved horns, each pair surmounted by a globe, are placed at relatively equal distances from one temple to the other (Fig. 97). The horns and globes spread upward from this simple fillet in high relief against a background covered by vertical wavy ing bands.

The necklace is apparently composed of large, round beads and small, rectangular ones, alternatively treated.

The surface of each of the three decorative bands of the garment is divided into two narrow lateral and two larger, central sections. The two central bands are divided, in turn, into larger, vertical rectangles separated from each other by small horizontal ones. Each large rectangle is decorated by two crossed diagonals.

The bust shows signs of erosion, especially on the face and beard. The globe on the pair of horns on the left side of the head is partially missing. Furthermore, the bust is broken into two pieces. The fracture line which begins on the left shoulder crosses the neck and the hair bunch on the right shoulder. Also, the circular plate on which the bust was fixed is broken and nearly totally missing.

24. 114-90 (a-b)-24

Pls. XI, XVI-XVII and Fig. 98

L. 114

The abundant hair of this bust is parted into two sections. The partition line is on the vertical axis of the bust. The hair is shown by both heavily and lightly incised lines on the surface of two nearly hemispherical masses, one on each side of the head. From the side view the lines look like segments of concentric circles spreading out from the edge of the diadem and moving backwards. Around the partition line, however, it forms a row of chevrons. The incised lines create slightly undulating bands, the surface of which is sometimes dotted at regular intervals. It is probable that these dotted bands represent braided hair.

On the left side, near the end of the fillet, there are some incised lines which may be a vestige of a decorative pattern. The fillet, in this part, is decorated by a horizontal line branching obliquely upward at regular intervals.

Only the curls of the lowermost row are regular and clearly worked out, while those of the middle row are shallower than the previous ones and are less sharply cut. These deficiencies are enhanced on the third row. The middle and especially the upper rows are slightly stepped back.

The convex surface of the fillet is divided

into three sections by incised lines. The two upper and lower bands are decorated with

oblique lines, coming down from right to left on the upper band and from left to right on

the lower one. The middle band, larger than the two others, is divided into long rectangles

by means of parallel vertical lines. Each rectangular section is decorated by an incised

chevron. Like the curls of the hair, these incised decorations of the diadem are divided

into two groups, right and left, that come together in the middle of the forehead.

The beads of the necklace are alternatively large and more or less oval or small and rectangular.

The three decorative bands on the garment are divided into three sections; two narrow lateral bands frame the broader central one.

The latter is in turn divided into three squares separated by two narrow rectangles. Crossed

diagonals divide each rectangle into four triangles.

Parts of the hair curls, diadem, forehead, hair locks and the left shoulder of the bust are

broken and missing. Moreover, very little of the round plate on which it had been applied

has survived.

23. 114-91 (a-b)-1

Pl. XV, Figs. 95-97

L. 114

The part of the hair which is visible under the bust's elaborate diadem is shown by

(sometimes heavily) incised lines on an undulating surface. The top of the head has a

smooth convex surface. There is an uneven section on the back of this surface that could

be the remaining part of an ornament or part of the now missing headdress. It is also possible that the convex surface of the top of the

head had joined the vertical surface of the ground plate in the shape of a steadily sharper

slope.

The fillet of the diadem is an undecorated

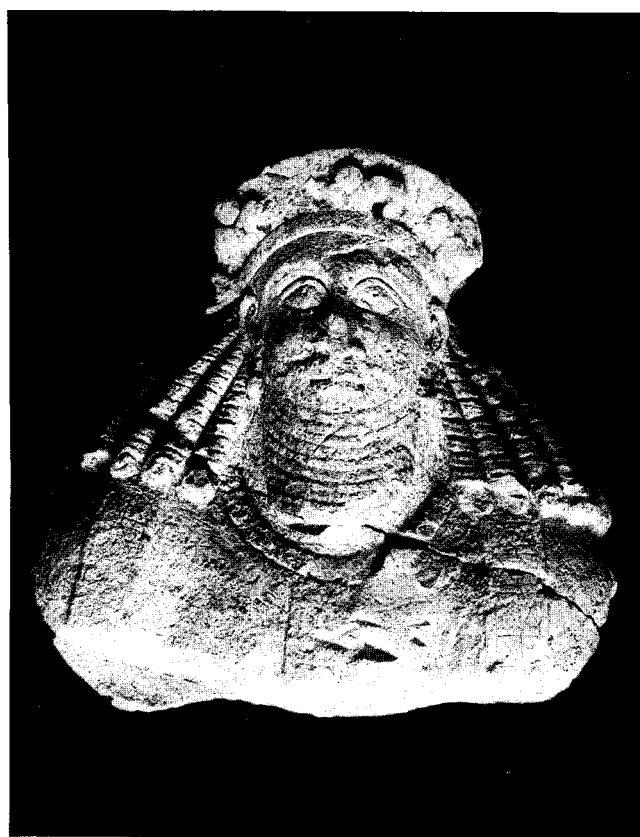


Fig. 95 - Stucco, cat. no. 23, field label 114-91 (a-b)-1; medium-sized bust of a male personage, probably Bahrām or Perüz Kūšanšāh.



Fig. 96 - Stucco, cat. no. 23, field label 114-91 (a-b)-1; medium-sized bust of a male personage, probably Bahrām or Perüz Kūšanšāh.

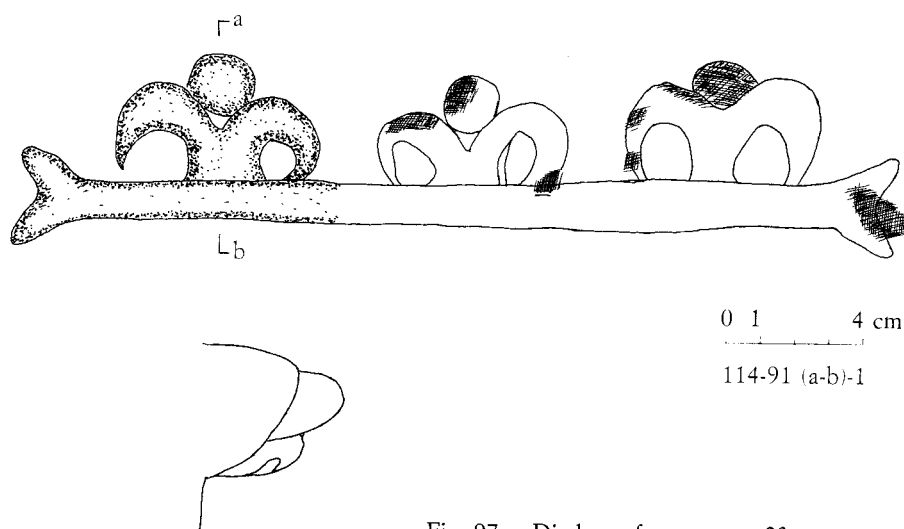


Fig. 97 - Diadem of stucco no. 23.

The surface of the lozenge on the right of the head is worn but traces of deep cuts are still visible on the lozenge on the left. These represent a floral decoration, probably a trilobate leaf, as is often the case with other busts from the site. The difference between this dec-

oration and that of similar elements is that here the bands which usually limit the rim of the lozenge are missing.

The surface of each of the three decorative bands of the garment is divided into three longitudinal sections: two narrow lateral



Fig. 98 - Stucco, cat. no. 24, field label 114-90 (a-b)-24; medium-sized bust of a male personage.

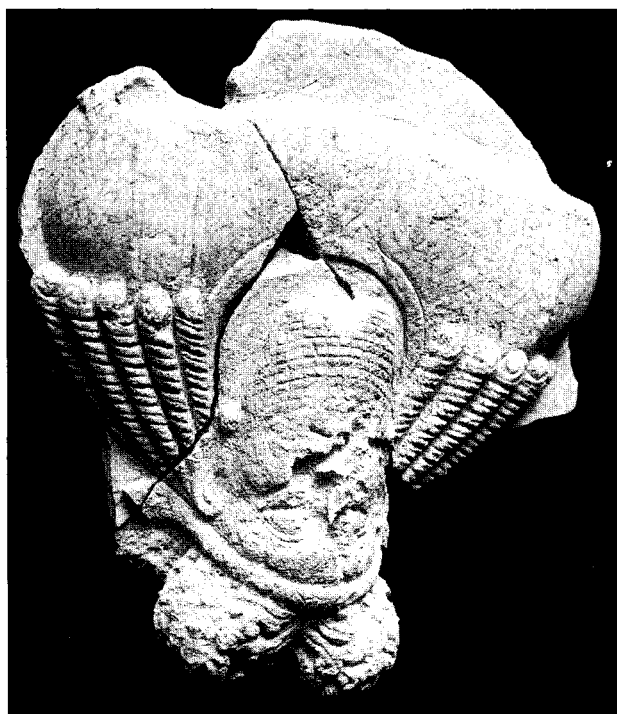


Fig. 99 - Stucco, cat. no. 25, field label 114-72 to 74-25; medium-sized bust of a male personage.



Fig. 100 - Stucco, cat. no. 25, field label 114-72 to 74-25; medium-sized bust of a male personage.



Fig. 101 - Stucco, cat. no. 25, field label 114-72 to 74-25; medium-sized bust of a male personage.

bands and a wider central one, itself divided into rectangles decorated with crossed diagonals.

The bust is broken into two pieces. The line of fracture begins on the left side of the chest, and crosses the neck before turning upward along the face to end near the right ear. In addition, the entire surface of the object, especially the right half of the face and parts of the circular plate show marks of heavy erosion.

25. 114-72 to 74-25
Pl. XII and Figs. 99-101
L. 114

The abundant and heavily curled hair of the bust is parted into two sections. From the deep partition line on the vertical axis of the bust, curls spread out in a more or less irregular manner. Spirals cover the rest of the exterior surface of the hair's divided masses.

The diadem is a convex band with no trace of decoration, either on its fillet or on the preserved (left) lozenge ending.

Where a beaded necklace is found on other busts of this group, here there is a simple, plain ring.

Of the three decorative bands on the bust's garment, two (on the right shoulder and the chest) are left plain and that of the left shoulder is simply divided into three vertical sections, two narrow, lateral bands and a broader one in the middle.

Most of the face of the bust is badly eroded. Moreover, the work is broken in three pieces. The head is separated from the rest of the trunk, while the left shoulder and the hair bunch hanging on it are separated from the chest and the right shoulder. Two small parts of the bust, one from the chest and neck and the other on the right hair bunch, as well as the major part of the circular plate of the background are missing.

3. *Under medium-sized (?) bust*

26. Unlabeled
Fig. 102

A beardless personage.

The only example of this group (if there was another example) was found, not during



Fig. 102 - Stucco, cat. no. 26, field label; unlabeled; under medium-sized bust of a female (?) personage.

the excavation but by the bulldozer. The bust was taken by a villager, painted in red and applied on the wall of his house. During a short visit to the site, before the excavation started, I was handed the bust. It was brought to Tehran Museum's workshops for cleaning. Subsequently, however, strikes and other problems prevented me from studying this object. The only available picture of this bust, therefore, remains the slide taken on the site by Martine Azarnoush-Maillard, who accompanied the writer during this trip.

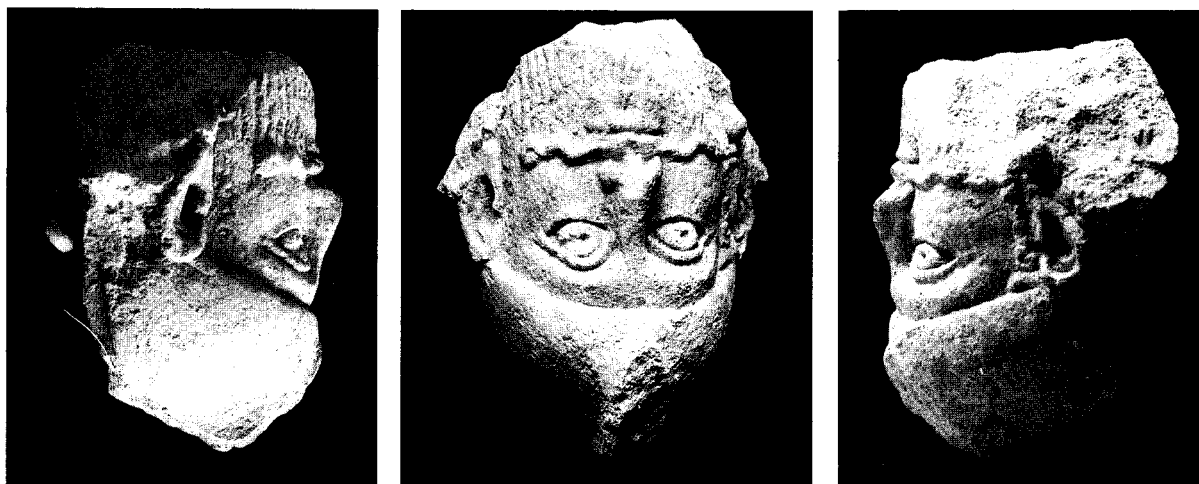
4. *Small-sized head (or bust?)*

27. 114-7-22
Figs. 103-105
Height: 115 width: 85
thickness: 71
L. 114

Head of a male personage.

It bears a partially damaged bonnet which covers part of the forehead and continues obliquely to cross the temples and vanishes behind the ears.

The forehead is somewhat prominent. The eyebrows have received no special treatment. They show no relief, and unlike the other



Figs. 103-105 - Stucco, cat. no. 27, field label 114-7-22; small-sized head of a male personage.

with confidence the shape of the hair bunch on either shoulder. In addition to this, some other parts of the head are also damaged like the beard, the ears, and earrings.

5. Others

28. Museum no. 8

Figs. 106-107

Height: 124 width: 106

Head and part of the face of a male personage. It is in high relief, practically three dimensional.



Fig. 106 - Stucco, cat. no. 28, field label: Museum no. 8 (bis?); partially-preserved head of a male personage.

busts, are not bow-shaped, but horizontal at the beginning and oblique on the sides of the forehead. They continue to a point near the temples. The distance between the upper eyelid and the eyebrow is short, particularly on the left eye. The upper eyelid is formed by a convex band. The man's large eyes are irregular in shape. The right eye is almost round, while the other one is almost round. Two holes in the middle of the eyes represent the iris and the pupil.

The nose is straight and long. The mouth is proportionally normal and has no exaggerated curve. A very long moustache fills the distance between the mouth and the nose in a horizontal form before becoming undulating on the cheeks. Its end curves up like a hook.

Parallel, vertical, and slightly rippled bands represent the beard. Wider bands which cover the temples and run down to the cheeks - judging from the still preserved ones on the right side - are composed of hook-like curls turned upward. The area under the lower lip, where a shallow dimple is visible, is left unbearded.

The ears are large. They are formed by a relatively wide convex band like a question mark which ends in a flat triangular section as the ear lobe. The earrings are composed of two small beads, ending in a larger pendant. Behind the ear, on the left side, one can still see the beginning of two locks of hair which are broken away. The preserved parts being too scanty, it is very difficult to assert



Fig. 107 - Stucco, cat. no. 28, field label: Museum no. 8 (bis?); partially-preserved head of a male personage.

The man bears a head cover similar to that of no. 21 in this catalogue. The thinner top and the front portion of the cap are broken and missing. The surface of the cap is smooth and plain, but its rim is decorated with a row of relatively rectangular beads. The beads extend from one ear to the other.

The man's forehead is smooth. His eyebrows have received no special treatment. They are indicated by bowed joints of two surfaces, those of the forehead and the upper eyelid.

The almond-shaped eyes are quite large. The upper eyelid is marked by a flat and bowed band. The lower eyelid has no relief. An incised circle with a hole in its center represents the iris and the pupil. The eyes being proportionally too large, extend obliquely to the sides of the man's face. Therefore, the axis of the pupils diverges strangely as if the man were staring oddly at different directions.

Only small portions of the ears are preserved. The rest of the work, below the line going from one ear to the other and crossing the face under the eyes, is missing.

29. Museum no. 17

Fig. 108

Height: 142 width: 120

Head and part of the face of a human fig-

ure. The greater part of the face, from the eyes down, is missing.

Three rows of irregularly distributed discs cover the crown of the head. The discs are convex and differ slightly in size. They presumably intended to represent the hair curls but in their present form they look more like roundels ornamenting a hat.

The diadem is a large undecorated band ending, on the left side of the head, in a lozenge decorated with a bilobate (?) leaf.

The forehead is an even surface on which one can hardly distinguish the eyebrows. The eyelid is a bowed flat band (left eye).

The ears, formed of flat bands, are partially damaged. The rest of the head is broken and missing.



Fig. 108 - Stucco, cat. no. 29, field label: Museum no. 17; partially-preserved head of a human figure.

30. 1003-15-57

Fig. 109

Height: 150 width: 131

L. 104

Head of a human figure in high relief, almost three-dimensional.

The upper surface of the head is convex and has a relatively smooth surface. Three rows of small rings on the surface of the hair probably represent the curls. It is possible, however, that the rings are simply the ornaments of the head covering.

small circular depression in the center of this ring the pupil. The cheeks are practically flat. The mouth is too small and too prominent. Two triangular depressions mark its corners. The distance between the nose and the mouth is filled with a rippled, long moustache the tapering ends of which turn upward. Incised lines divide the surface of the moustache into three bands, fading into each other at the narrow ends. The beard, now slightly damaged, is more or less rectangular. Its curls are shown by parallel, vertical, undulating lines, crossed horizontally by other incised lines. Of the latter, those at the end of the beard are practically horizontal, but as they move towards the cheek and the mouth they curve more and more upward. Finally, the top line curving under the mouth extends from one ear to the other.

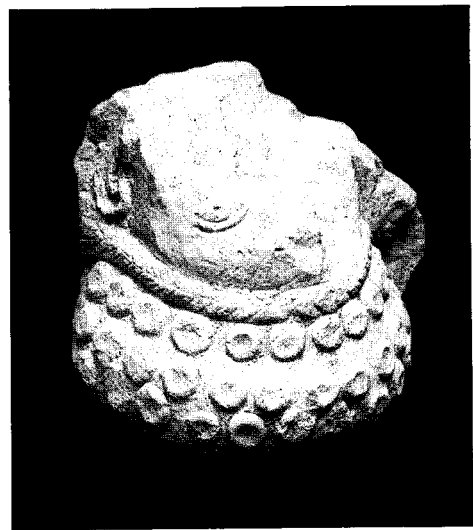


Fig. 109 - Stucco, cat. no. 30, field label 1003-15-57; partially-preserved head of a human figure.

The diadem is a band decorated with a continuous incised line, probably indicating the petiole, from which blades spread obliquely upward and downward. The latter form chevrons (of opposite directions) joining back to back at the center of the fillet. The diadem ends on either side in a lozenge, the surface of which is decorated with a trilobate leaf. The lozenge on the left side of the head is mostly damaged but the other one is more or less complete. Only small parts of the forehead, left eye and ear are preserved. The remaining part of the face is broken and missing.

31. Museum no. 6 Exhibition no. 84

Fig. 110

Height: 160 width: 115

A. SAVRAT and Z. JAFFAR MOHAMMADI, *Exposition des dernières Découvertes archéologiques, 1976-1977, Musée Iran Bastan, 31 oct.-30 nov. 1977, Tehran, p. 13.*

Part of a bearded face in high relief, almost three-dimensional. Most of the left ear and the entire left eye, the forehead, and the head are missing. The rest of the face (except for the tip of the nose) however, is in good condition. The man's eye is almond-shaped and very large. An incised circle shows the iris and a

A fragment of a human bust (?) in high relief. Of this work, only the lower part of the

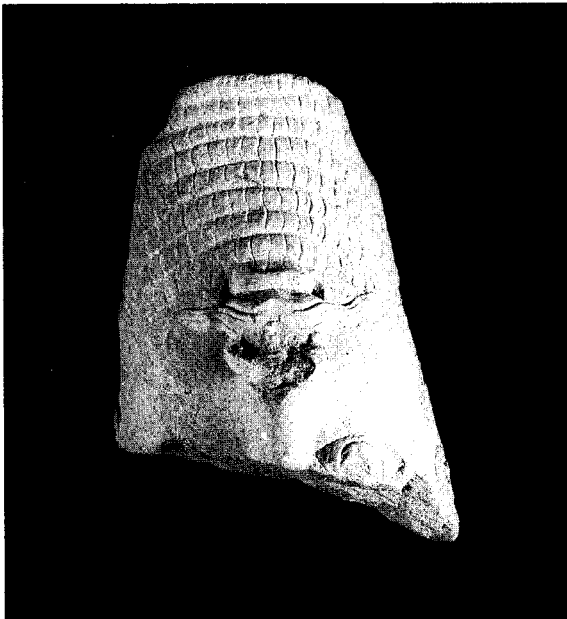
32. 1159-1-19

Fig. 111

Height: 190 width: 220

thickness: 65
Square N 13

Fig. 110 - Stucco, cat. no. 31, field label: Museum no. 6; partially-preserved head of a human figure.



neck, the necklace and a small portion of the thorax are preserved.

The neck is large and has a smooth surface. The necklace is composed of two parallel, semicircular flat bands. The area between these is occupied alternatively by rectangular and ovoidal beads. A partially preserved, probably round, pendant hangs on the chest. The shaft linking the pendant to the necklace is cross-shaped.

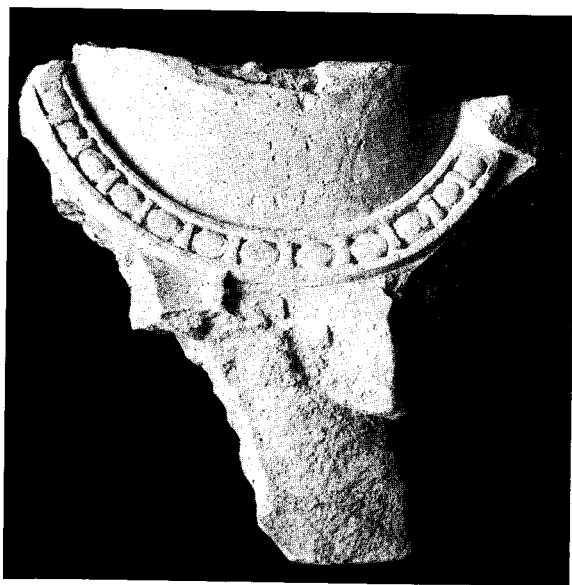


Fig. 111 - Stucco, cat. no. 32, field label 1159-1-19; partially-preserved neck and breast of a bust (?).

33. S-61-8

Fig. 112

Height: 175 width: 214 thickness: 62

A fragment of a male (?) bust in high relief. The preserved portion contains part of four hair locks, the neck, the right shoulder and most of his breast.

The spirally twisted locks hang over the right shoulder. Their shape is conical and the undulation of the curls is shown by parallel incisions. Each lock ends in a spiral.

The garment has no folds. Three convex bands with smooth surface probably represent a necklace. Nevertheless, the lowermost band appears to have been part of the garment since it obviously joins some of the relief ornaments of the said garment.

Two rows of four, vertically applied lozenges, parallel to each other, ornate the mid-

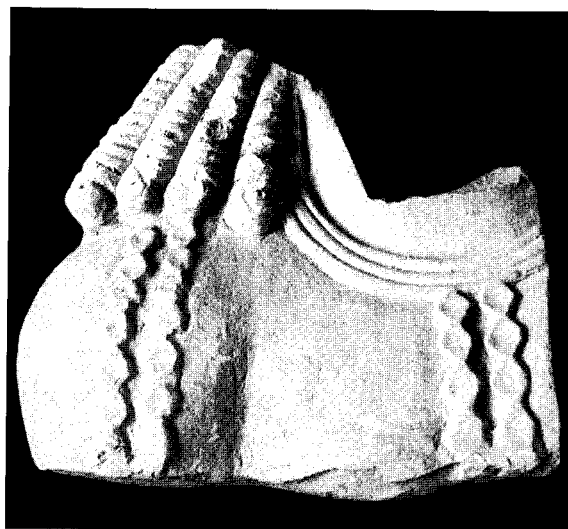


Fig. 112 - Stucco, cat. no. 33, field label S-61-8; partially-preserved neck and breast of a bust.

dle of the thorax. A similar but longer (seven lozenges) device is found on the shoulder and the arm.

b. Statues

1. Large-scale dressed female figures

Statues of this kind, as will be demonstrated below, were apparently made of several sections which were worked separately. In this catalogue they are represented by the following objects:

- the head, Museum no. 4 - Exhibition no. 82
- the body, Museum no. 9
- the legs, Museum no. 10
- the right hand, 114-32 (a-b-c)-93 and 114-100-41.

34. Museum no. 4 Exhibition no. 82

Pls. XIX-XX and Figs. 113-114

Height: 225 width: 125

- A. SAURAT and Z. JAFFAR MOHAMMADI, *Exposition des dernières Découvertes archéologiques, 1976-1977, Musée Iran Bastan, 31 oct.-30 nov., 1977, Tehran, p. 14, no. 82.*
- M. AZARNOUSH, «Les Fouilles de Hājīābād (Iran), 1977», in *Arabie Orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran Méridional de l'âge*

du Fer au début de la période islamique (Paris; Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984), p. 312, pl. 2.

This is a slightly damaged head and neck of



Fig. 113 - Stucco, cat. no. 34, field label: Museum no. 4; head of a large-scale dressed female figure.

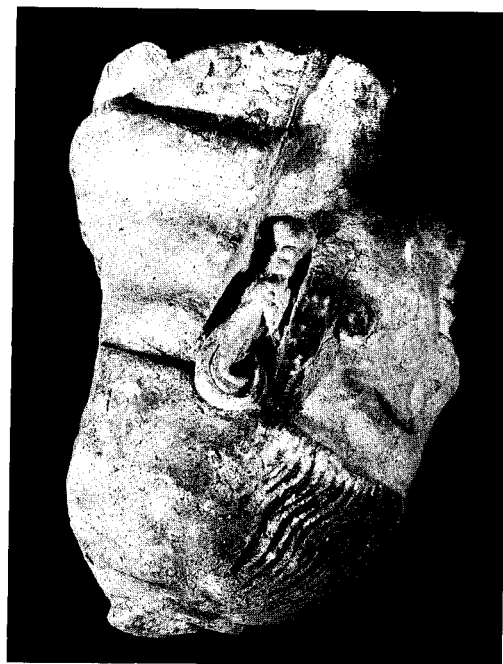


Fig. 114 - Stucco, cat. no. 34, field label: Museum no. 4; head of a large-scale dressed female figure.

a woman in three dimensions. In spite of being made in the round, the work is obviously intended to be seen frontally as the back of the head and the hair were left unfinished.

The elaborate hairdress had once been composed of several sections including a hair-globe. This globe is now broken and mostly missing. The globe's remaining portion is an oval-shaped (diam. 40 mm and 48 mm) projection with a hole in its center. This hole is obviously the place for a support. Around this base there is an area, like a band (17 to 26 mm wide), with a plain surface. The hair, from the outer edge of this base to the front, is covered with parallel, slightly rippled bands, formed by deeply cut lines. On each of these areas, several undulating and deeply incised lines represent the hair strings. On the sides of the head, on the other hand, the lines are nearly all deeply cut. The curve of the skull is not uniform but is divided into three slightly concave sections or bands (each ca. 23 mm wide).

The hair is cut neatly on the upper border of the forehead. Two locks, spreading from this edge, hang downward by the sides of the face. These are shown by flat bands of irregular width. On each side, a short spiral lock curls on to the cheek. The undulation of the locks is not symmetrical; that of the right is in higher relief. All parts of the hair so far described are painted in black.

The bulk of the hair hanging on the back of the head and neck is left unpainted. Moreover, the artist has made no real attempt to show the curls and strands of the back of the head, as he did on the parts so far described. However, the line of the hair on the forehead continues to the back of the head.

Another portion of the hair is shown by a thick layer of gypsum sticking to the head and the nape of the neck. The surface of this part also undulates like the locks on the temples, and very much like the latter, its thickened end is turned up in a spiral form. This spiral is better visible on the frontal view and particularly on the left side of the bust.

Two spirally twisted locks in conical form, spreading out from the area under that section of hair just described, hang on each side of the neck and end where the neck is broken

off. The curls of the locks are shown by incised lines on the surface. The last two parts of the hair bear no trace of painting.

The forehead has a smooth surface. The eyebrows have no relief and are hardly visible. The upper eyelid is shown by a narrow band, painted in black. The area between this band and the line of the eyebrow is somewhat puffy. The eyes are large and almond-shaped and the lower eyelid is too short. The nose is partly damaged. Two heavily marked depressions separate the nose and the small mouth from the fleshy cheeks. The chin with its well rounded dewlap, is also plump.

35. Museum no. 9

Fig. 115

Height: 480 width: 295

thickness: 160-175

Part of the body of a large-scale female statue. It could be considered as a three dimensional work, were it not that its back has been left unfinished.

Only a small part of the trunk is well preserved. This section (about 210 mm high)



Fig. 115 - Stucco, cat. no. 35, field label: Museum no. 9; partially-preserved trunk and pelvis of a large-scale dressed female figure.

contains part of the lower thorax, abdomen, and the pelvis. Here, the drapery folds are concentrated around the waist, above and beneath the belt. The somewhat puffy folds are more intensive and in higher relief on the abdomen, loosening and flattening on the sides. The same distinction can be made, to a lesser extent, between the folds above and beneath the belt. The belt is a smooth band. The details of the buckle and the knot, on the navel area, are clearly worked out.

On the right of the knot, there is a round button. There was probably another button on the left side now missing. The central knot is oval in shape. Two streamers, hanging downward on either thigh, show the ends of the belt coming out of the knot. These are undulating, twisted bands enlarging gradually towards the end. The parallel horizontal bands on the lower, enlarged, part represent the folds. The folds of the garment are shown by parallel waves on the area between the lower parts of the streamers.

A projection on the trunk's right side may mark the position of the arm. The rest of the thorax, the breasts, arms, and hands are missing.

A flat oblique surface (between the heights 420 and 460 mm, and 67 mm long) at the back of the work, near its neck, could be that part of the statue which rested against the rear wall of the niche.

36. a-b.

a. 114-32(a-b-c)-93

Length: 34

L. 114

This object consists of part of the right arm, the entire forearm, and part of the hand, of a large-scale female statue.

The sleeved arm is in fact a cylinder with an oval section. No fold is shown on this part of the garment. The forearm is gently bent from the elbow.

The folds of the sleeve begin under the elbow and cover most of the forearm to the wrist (the length of this section is 190 mm). To show them, the artist has cut the exterior surface of the sleeve with deep, more or less parallel, lines thus creating many bands. These lines are obliquely cut, like the rim of the sleeve itself.

The flat surface of the upper and lower sections of this object means that we are dealing with a practically complete example of the statue's legs. This work includes a larger part of the thigh, knee and leg, not far from the ankle. The surface of the stucco has remained plain on the whole. There are few folds on it. The lateral surface of the left thigh bears a very large fold, beginning at the higher parts of the work and dropping in the form of a narrow cone to join the enlarged section of the skirt (Fig. 148) covering the feet. The rest of this leg's drapery remains foldless. A wire-like fold fills the depression between the thighs and branches into two before reaching the knees; under the knees, the fold becomes tripartite to cover the entire area between the two legs. A large flat band on the upper right thigh represents another fold. Three incised lines divide the lower half

The oblique line of the sleeve's rim shows that the sleeve was probably shorter on one (upper?) side. The back of the hand is smooth and mildly convex (80-90 mm length). The greater part of the fingers is broken and missing.

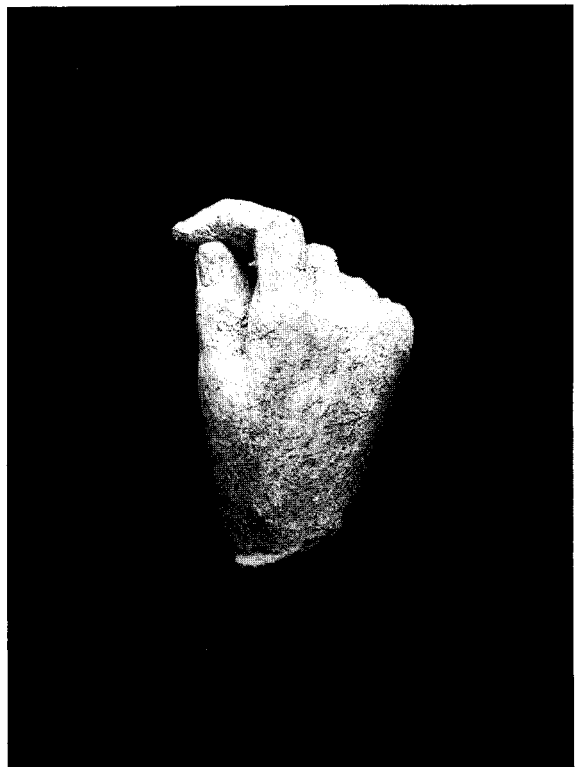


Fig. 116 - Stucco, cat. no. 36b, field label 114-100-41; partially-preserved right hand of a large-scale dressed female figure.

b. 114-100-41

Fig. 116

Length: 138 width: 82
thickness: 60

The right hand of a large-scale statue. The third and the little fingers are missing. The end of the thumb rests on the first joint of the forefinger as if they were still holding between them part of the statue's long robe. The nail's contour is emphasized by an incised line. A relief line on the edge of the broken wrist shows the beginning of a long sleeve.

37. Museum no. 10

Figs. 117-118

Height: 485 width: 284
thickness: 195

Fig. 117 - Stucco, cat. no. 37, field label: Museum no. 10; partially-preserved legs of a large-scale dressed female figure.



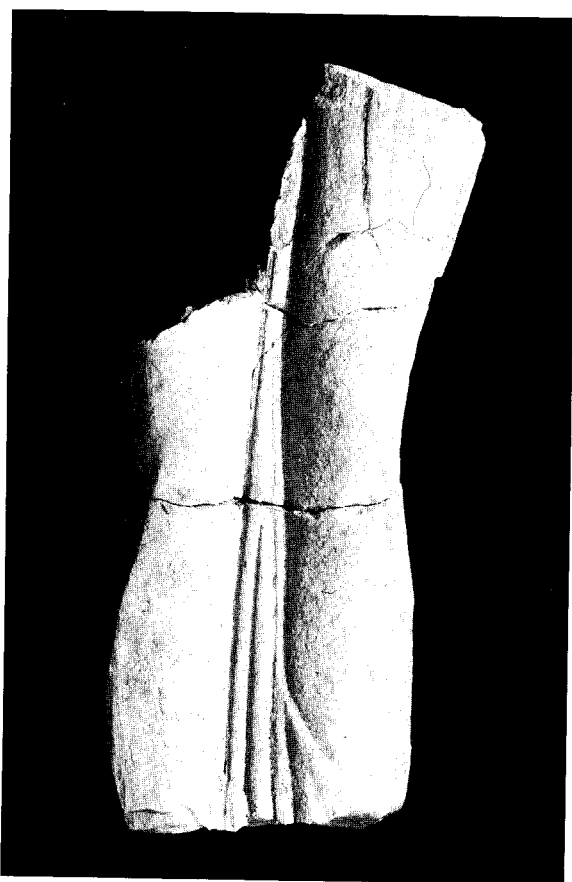


Fig. 118 - Stucco, cat. no. 37, field label 114-96 (a-b)-42; partially-preserved legs of a large-scale dressed female figure.

of this band into four comb-like sections. The trace of another fold is also visible on the right thigh's lateral surface which matches that on the other leg. All these folds originally had to join their counterparts on the last and lowermost portion of the statue.

This stucco is broken into three pieces. Furthermore, parts of the right thigh are broken and missing. There are also some other, though insignificant, damages on the broken pieces.

The object shown on figure 118 (field label 114-96 [a-b]-42) is an almost identical replica of this object.

2. Small-scale dressed female figures

38. Museum no. 1 Exhibition no. 79
Pl. XXI and Fig. 119
Height: 310 width: 179
thickness: 127



Fig. 119 - Stucco, cat. no. 38, field label: Museum no. 1; acephalous, small-sized, statuette of a dressed female figure.

- A. SAURAT and Z. JAFFAR MOHAMMADI, *Exposition des dernières Découvertes archéologiques, 1976-1977, Musée Iran Bastan, 31 oct.-30 nov., 1977, Tehran, p. 13.*

Acephalous, high relief, statuette of a woman, worked out almost in three dimensions.

Only a negligible part of the woman's neck - higher than the beaded rim of the collar - still exists. It is not clear whether the beads (17 examples in total) belong to a separate necklace or are part of the garment. The body is covered by a sleeved, long and heavily wrinkled dress. The folds are found everywhere on the woman's drapery, but are especially intense around the waist, on the sleeves (from the elbow downward), and on the lower part of the skirt (under the knees).

The folds beginning around or under the

goes farther than the possible thickness, had such a statuette been three-dimensional. More than two-thirds of the surface of these deep lateral sides is covered by parallel folds. Nevertheless, the statuette is supposed to be seen from a frontal view. It was applied to a wall but this immense thickness covered with folded drapery gives the impression that the work represents a hunchbacked woman.

No. S-17-23, showing the left shoulder, breast, and the hand of a replica of no. 38, proves that at least two such statuettes originally existed.

3. *Nude female figures*

39. 114-92 (a-b-c)-26
Pls. XXII-XXIII, Figs. 120-122
Height: 610 width: 120
L. 114

Statuette of a nude woman. It is worked out in high relief but it could easily be considered as a statuette in the round, were it not meant to be applied to a wall.

The woman's hairdress is rather complicated. Her hair is gathered at the top of her head and passed through a ring (?), forming a spherical topknot (Fig. 122). Five rows of more or less regular beads or, in the lower row, spirals, represent the curls of hair on this topknot. They end at the top of the globe, in a ring-like relief. The topknot is supported by a ring which now appears as a strong shaft with a smooth surface rising directly from the head. The upper surface of the head on which the shaft is placed is even, bearing no trace of curls. The convex body of the section between this surface and the diadem is covered by three rows of semispherical forms, regularly and tightly arranged. The semispheres of the middle row are not only more numerous than the other two (13 to 12), but also larger. The semispherical forms continue on each side of the head to the level of the ears.

The diadem is a simple convex fillet with an oval bead at the center. The fillet ends on each side of the head in a lozenge-shaped leaf-like decorative element. The surface of each element is decorated by bands, all spreading from the end of the fillet and enlarging toward the end, looking very much like sea

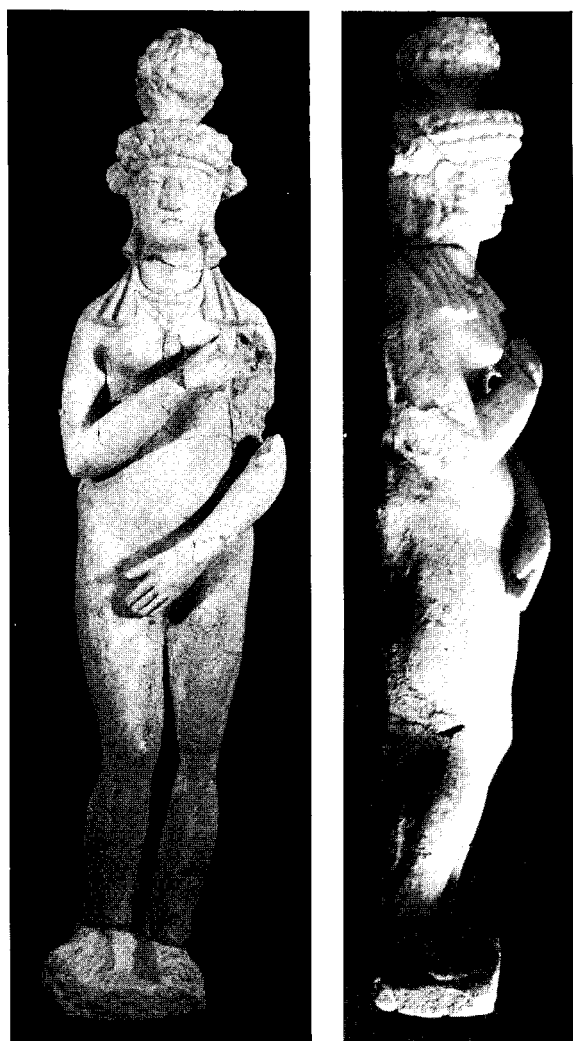
breasts become somewhat puffy before going under the tightly fastened belt. A whole range of closely organized puckers, mostly flat in surface and limited by a deeply cut lateral area (like parallel bands), leaves the area under the belt to hang around the abdomen and hips.

The skirt is less wrinkled on the frontal part of the right thigh and leg. The long and widely spaced folds beginning on the pelvis, however, cover the entire area between the two thighs and most of the skirt's lateral surface. It is mostly the continuation of the same folds that constitutes the movements of the lower skirt.

Unfortunately, part of the left leg and the frontal section of the lowermost part of the skirt are broken and missing. Nevertheless, the part of the skirt still preserved is extensive enough to provide a good picture of the folds in the lower part of the garment. Here the folds become progressively larger, more in relief and more densely organized. They are flapping apart as if the woman were running. In spite of these massive folds of the drapery, one can still see, rather clearly, the form of the woman's body under it.

The ends of the belt form a knot on the navel area, before hanging apart like a chevron. Each branch begins from one point and enlarges progressively. There are two round buttons, one on either side of the knot, belonging perhaps to the buckle of the belt. One more button, smaller than the previous ones, is on the right half of the belt, beside the larger one.

The hands and fingers are long and thin but ill-proportioned. The woman's left hand rests on her left breast. It is perhaps under the pressure of the hand that the nipple of the left breast is visible, since none can be seen on the other breast. This is shown as a circle inside the «V» shaped space between the thumb and the rest of the hand. The right hand, with a missing thumb, rests on the right thigh. There is an unnaturally large void between the arms and the thorax due to the excessive width of the shoulders. The right knee is slightly bent and turned inward in a graceful movement. As mentioned previously, this statuette is worked in very high relief. A look at its profile shows that the depth of the work is more than what it actually should be; it even



Figs. 120-121 - Stucco, cat. no. 39, field label 114-92 (a-b-c)-26; small-sized statuette of a nude female figure.

shells.

The forehead is smooth and slightly bulging above the eyebrows. The bow-shaped eyebrows have received no special treatment and are not in relief. They result from the junction of two planes, those of the forehead and the upper eyelid.

The woman has a Greek nose in good proportion, but the mouth is too small. In spite of her fleshy cheeks and jaw, the chin is rather pointed. The double chin is slightly emphasized.

The ears are formed by wide, flat bands in the shape of question marks. The ear lobe is shaped by the continuation of this band. The earring is composed of two beads or a shaft and an ovoidal pendant.

A lock of hair spreading out from beneath



Fig. 122 - Head of stucco no. 39.

the diadem covers the temple on each side and hangs over the cheek near the ear lobe. The lock has four curls represented by four rather irregular semispherical forms, one under the other. A smaller curl branches out from the area between the second and the third semispheres developing horizontally on the cheek. Its end is turned upward, as if it were a spiral.

Two more rippled locks hang behind the ear. These locks have no precise shape. Their ends are irregularly curved. Further towards the back on the right side of the head, however, there are traces of more locks. These are very sketchily worked out. On either side of the area under these locks, three other locks branch out to hang over the shoulders and part of the breasts. They have an incomplete conical form, slightly bent – especially the outer ones. Their surface is smooth without any trace of incised lines to show the curls.

The woman wears two necklaces. The upper, simple beaded one, hangs in a semicircular form at the base of the neck. The second

The objects listed below belong to five replicas of no. 39. Altogether, therefore, at least six such nude statuettes were among the decorative elements of the excavated building in Hajiabad.

Nos. 114-37-12, 114-26-13, 114-67-14, 1008-24-15, 114-28-91, 114-43-92, 114-32-93, and several others.

4. *Small-scale nude child*

40. 114-94-28

Pl. XXIV and Fig. 123

Niche: Height: 347 width: 265
Statuette: Height: 305 width: 105

L. 114

The following discussion is based on 114-94-28. Nevertheless, in order to complete this description another example (114-103-27) was necessary to refer to.

This object consists of a miniature arched niche with a nude infant in very high relief applied on its rear wall. The child holds a bunch of grapes in each hand.

The background of the niche is framed, on

necklace has a longer strand and hangs lower than the first one. It consists of two convex straight bands, joining each other like a «V» on the chest. From this point, a pendant hangs and fills the cleavage of her bosom. The pendant comprises a ring and, finally, an oval bead.

Only the right breast is visible while the other one is hidden by the woman's right hand. She also hides her pubis with her left

The thighs look fleshy, and the legs are rather strong and somewhat fat. The feet are slightly separated from each other like the legs, and, to a lesser extent, the thighs. The right knee is turned inward so that her right foot should be slightly raised. The woman's weight, therefore, rests mainly on her left leg. The movement of the right foot, however, is not very clearly shown. Both feet rest on a rectangular socle.

The object was broken into several pieces many of which are now glued together. A small portion of the left hand (part of the wrist and fingers) is missing. The left arm of the statuette is also broken and missing. Aside from these, the rest of the work can be said to

Fig. 123 - Stucco, cat. no. 40, field label 114-92-28; several partially-preserved small-scale nude children.



either side, by two parallel stepped, plain listels (height: 210 mm). At the springing of the arch, the niche widens (267 mm). It is the outer listel of the lower part which continues to frame this rather semicircular arche (ca. 137 mm diam.) as well. Fourteen petals decorate the oblique surface between this listel and the background of the niche.

The figure has curled hair. To show the curls, the surface of the head is divided into vertical and horizontal sections by the help of incised lines. These sections look like regular and tightly organized beads. Incisions on the surface of some of these beads are supposed to represent spiral undulations.

Three heart-shaped ornaments, one on either side over the ears, and the third one in front of the head, adorn the curly hair. The ornaments are applied on the second row of beads.

The surface of the forehead is smooth and convex. The eyebrows become noticeable only near the nose. The upper lid is shown by a bow-shaped band. The child's almond-shaped eyes are large, prominent, and bulge out of the lids. The nose is short and wide, and the mouth is limited, at each corner, by a small triangle.

The face is round and chubby. A very gentle smile is perceptible in the childish expression of this large face. The ears are large and the earrings are composed of a large and spherical pendant. A rounded, fleshy double chin joins the jaw to a short, fat neck. The sides of this large neck stretch obliquely from the pendant of the earring to the shoulders.

The arm and the forearm of each hand are bent in such manner that they form a large «V» on each side of the child's body. The hands, therefore, reach the level of the shoulder. They bear heavy, plain bracelets.

The hands, bent at the wrist, are rather schematically worked out. The position of the arm and the forearm, bent up and outward from the elbow, represent a rather painful movement. They are not perpendicular to the trunk, but quite parallel to and flush with it.

The trunk is more or less rectangular. The breasts are slightly convex and a shallow depression separates them from the belly. The latter is mildly convex.

The left leg supports the weight of the

body while the right knee is slightly bent forward. The boy wears heavy anklets. The feet are not shown.

II - Animals: a. Lions

41. 114-101-43

Figs. 124-129

Diameter: 185

L. 114

A disk with a lion head in high relief (Figs. 124-125).

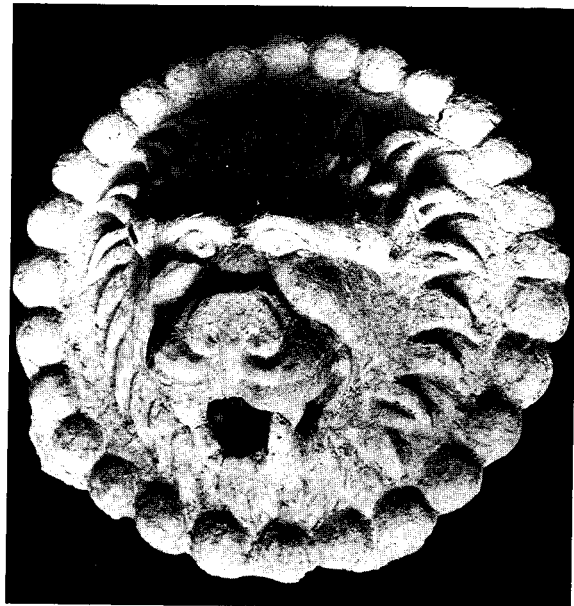


Fig. 124 - Stucco, cat. no. 41, field label 114-101-43; lion head in a circular beaded frame.

Twenty-eight round beads frame this disk. The entire area inside this beaded frame is occupied by the head and the mane of the animal in frontal view.

The mane comprises 23 locks. The conventionalized locks are not similar neither in size nor in form. Each is represented by a roughly triangular, pointed leaf. The majority of the locks have a deeply cut central vein, and most of them are curved downward. These locks shape a distorted circle around the protuberant face of the lion.

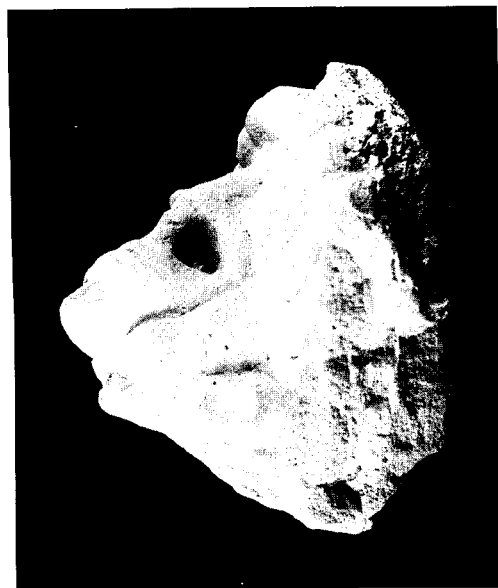
A second row of locks, curled upward, is shown under the first one over the front. These, eight in total, are divided into two groups of four, in opposite directions.

The front, eyes and muzzle of the lion are in the round. The roaring lion has an open mouth, showing the upper and the lower fangs. The end of the nose is broken and missing but we can reconstruct it with the help of a replica of the lion head (S-2-9, Fig. 126).



Fig. 125 - Stucco, cat. no. 41, field label 114-101-43; lion head in a circular beaded frame.

Fig. 126 - Stucco, cat. no. 41, field label S-2-9; partially-preserved lion head in a circular beaded frame.



In all, eight - mostly incomplete - examples of these lion heads were gathered from the surface of the site during the excavation.



Fig. 127 - Stucco, cat. no. 41, field label: Museum no. unknown; partially-preserved lion head in a circular beaded frame.



Fig. 128 - Stucco, cat. no. 41, field label: Museum no. 3, exhibition no. 81 (?); partially-preserved lion head in a circular beaded frame.

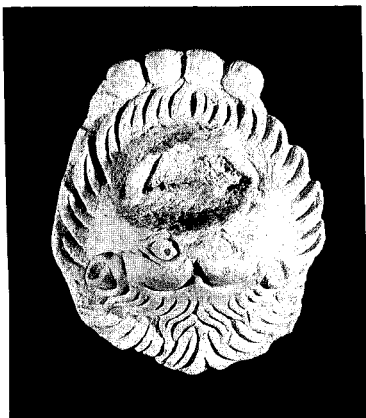


Fig. 129 - Stucco, cat. no. 41, field label: Museum no. unknown; partially-preserved lion head in a circular beaded frame.

tion. Four other examples are among the stuccos sent to Tehran Museum after the work of the bulldozer had been stopped. One of these four lion heads (Museum no. 3, Exhibition no. 81) is already published* and three of them are illustrated here (Figs. 127-129). None of these examples resemble each other in their details.

*A. SAURAT and Z. JAFFAR MOHAMMADI, *Exposition des dernières Découvertes archéologiques, 1976-1977, Musée Iran Bastan, 31 oct.-30 nov., Tehran (1977)*, p. 13.

b. Eagles (?)

42. Museum no. 7 Exhibition no. 85

Figs. 130-131

Height: 280 width: 310

thickness: 60

- A. SAURAT and Z. JAFFAR MOHAMMADI, *Exposition des dernières découvertes archéologiques, 1976-1977, Musée Iran Bastan, 31 oct.-30 nov., Tehran (1977)*, p. 13.

Two examples of this object were found, one before the excavation began (7-85, Fig. 130) and the other one during the excavation (114-102-44 and 1022-1 [a-b]-60, Fig. 131). The first example being better preserved, provides a clearer picture of its form and the following description is, therefore, based on it.

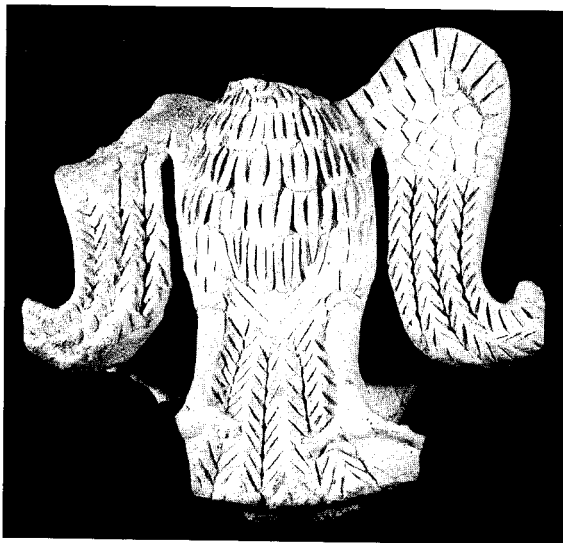


Fig. 130 - Stucco, cat. no. 42, field label: Museum no. 7; acephalous eagle with spread wings.



Fig. 131 - Stucco, cat. no. 42, field label 114-102-44 and 1022-1 (a-b)-60; partially-preserved eagle with spread wings.

The object shows a now acephalous eagle (?) with open wings. It lacks the uppermost portion of the right wing, the toe of the right foot and the claws of both feet. Small parts of the tail feathers are also among the missing sections.

The convex, oval chest of the bird is covered with rows of stylized feathers. Each feather, an incomplete oval, is partially covered by the upper unit. The units are framed by a wire-like band of irregular thickness. A vertical stem of the same thickness represents the down.

The feathers covering the upper part of the bird's leg look rather like fish scales. Their lateral limits are incised, but those parts which overlap the other units are in much lower relief. This section ends, on the knee, in a horizontal band, as if it were part of a ring. The legs and claws are in profile.

A pair of parallel chevrons fill the space between the feathered section of the legs. The chevrons are flat bands pointed downward and leaning on the four tail feathers. These feathers have a triangular section, like a slim,

tall pyramid. The two oblique, flat, visible surfaces on each pyramid are incised with parallel lines. These join the lines of the neighboring feathers to form a continuous pattern of parallel chevrons.

Except for a small part at its very end, the left wing is well preserved. The wings have the shape of an upside down paisley pattern back to back. The well preserved wing is divided into three sections:

- 1 - a margin of unequal width forms the rim of the upper, semicircular, portion. Incised, essentially parallel lines divide this band into irregular segments;
- 2 - the slightly convex area inside this margin is covered by irregular scales, or a honeycomb pattern;
- 3 - the lower part of the wing is composed of four long feathers. The end of these is curved upward. These feathers are worked out in the same manner as the tail feathers, but the wing feathers are longer and slimmer. Moreover, unlike those of the tail, they have a more or less homogeneous width throughout their length.

By these divisions the artist probably intended to show the covert, the secondary and the primary feathers.

c. Bulls

A humped bull.

Bodies of four such creatures have been found but unfortunately neither of them is well preserved. The present description, therefore, is based on these and other fragments.



Figs. 132-133 - Stucco, cat. no. 43, field label S-31-7; a partially preserved zebu's head.

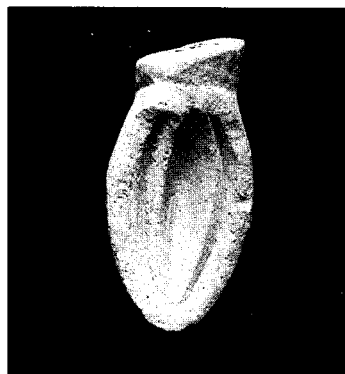


Fig. 134 - Stucco, cat. no. 44, field label 1291-1-16; a zebu's ear (?).

44. 1291-1-16

Fig. 134

Height: 80 width: 40

Ear of an animal in the round (?).

It has an oval form and is framed by a convex band. The area framed by this band is

different in some details.

The eyes are almond-shaped. While the upper lid is shown by a semicircular band, the lower one is not shown at all. A bent line which is the extension of the upper lid continues down to join the nose over the nostril. An incised circle and a deep hole in its center represent the iris and pupil. There is no symmetry in the form of the eyes either. They are different in some details.

The nostrils are large figure-8 shaped openings. A deep cut line shows the mouth; the lower jaw is slightly set back.

The ears and horns of the animal are broken off and missing. If one looks frontally at the object, one can see that the two sides of the muzzle are asymmetrical. The narrow section between the eyes and the end of the nose is curved to the right, while its counterpart is more or less flat, and even slightly convex.

Greater part of a bull's head in the round.

Thickness: 95

Height: 125 length: 125

Figs. 132-133

43. S-31-7

Each of these pieces will be dealt with separately and under its own label unless a combination of two (or more) of them can provide a better clue for reconstruction.

concave and looks rather like a leaf.

The leaf consists of two oblique and nearly flat fields which join at the bottom of the concave area. The base of the ear has an even surface.

The back of the ear is relatively even but there are, here and there, traces of engraving on it.

45. S-77-65

Length: 45 diameter: 28-30

This object is a slightly curved cylinder with one side impalpably thicker than the other. This could, therefore, be a horn; and since no other horned animal except the humped cows has so far been discovered on this site, it could belong to one of these.

46. S-69-45

Fig. 135

Height: 280 width of the preserved surface: 170 thickness: ca. 150

Forepart of a sitting animal in both high relief and three dimensions.

The rear part of this now broken work had clearly been applied to a wall but the forepart was projected outward from the surface of the wall.

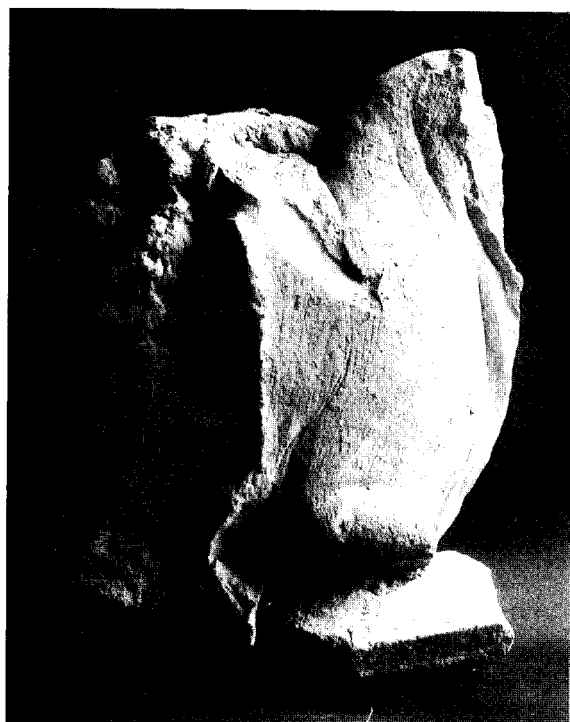


Fig. 135 - Stucco, cat. no. 46, field label S-69-45; partially-preserved forepart of a crouching zebu.

What is still recognizable on this fragment is part of the neck, dewlaps, breast, shoulder, a small portion of withers and most of the forearm – all from the animal's right side.

On the withers, part of a broken hump is still visible. This hump is better preserved on no. 51 (Fig. 137), another example of a similar sitting animal.

47. S-72-54

Fig. 136

Length: 104 width: 92

Left front foot of a sitting animal in both high relief and three dimensions. The final part of the hoof is missing.

The animal's front limb from the elbow down to the knee is shown by a narrowing, approximately conical form, without any precise shape of the musculature.

The knee, midway up to the elbow, is in three dimensions, a clear evidence that parts of the animal's body projected out of the wall to which it was applied.

The inner part of the foot is shown by a flat strip, like a long and narrow «U». This band is very clear and precise in its upper part but gradually disappears near the hoof.



Fig. 136 - Stucco, cat. no. 47, field label S-72-54; left front leg of a crouching zebu.

48. S-22-61

Height: 220 width: 180

Parts of the body, dewlap and the front foot of a sitting animal in high relief. It has all the characteristics of S-69-45 (no. 46 in this catalogue, Fig. 135) but belongs to an animal that had certainly be applied to a wall opposite

60 mm) emerging from a wide flat stem, at the base of the animal's neck. A good part of the neck is still well preserved.

III - *Fantastic Beings*

52. 114-93-29
Pl. XXV and Figs. 138-141
Height: 175 width: 155
L. 114

Human-headed, winged, sitting bull. Two examples of such an anthropomorphic monster have so far been found: one during and the other (Muséum no. 16, Fig. 140) prior to the excavation. They are worked out in high relief. The head of the bull is almost three dimensional.

The bull is crowned. The crown has a flat, undecorated rim under which there is a wider section decorated with 14 petals or flutings. The width of the decorated section is not the same all around the crown. It is narrower in front and wider at the sides. The flat upper rim does not follow the curve of the diadem and the curls spreading from it.

Eight spiral curls of hair spread out between the crown and the diadem, four on each side of the crown's vertical axis, facing opposite directions.

The diadem, a simple band, bears no decoration. The eyebrows are in relief and slightly bowed. The upper eyelids have the same form as the eyebrows. The eyes are almond-shaped. The lower eyelids look somewhat puffy but fall too short to cover the lower part of the eye.

The cheeks are slightly convex. The tip of its nose is broken and missing. A narrow moustache partially fills the rather wide area between the nose and the mouth. The long and heavily undulating moustache tapers while extending on the cheeks, before reaching the pendants of the earrings.

The outline of the beard forms the longitudinal section of an incomplete cone. Four bands, loosely triangular in section and crossing the beard's width, represent its undulations. The two uppermost bands turn upwards.

The creature has long, pointed, vertical,

and probably parallel to the one on which 46 was applied.

49. S-75-63
Height: 110 width: 140
Fragment of a sitting animal showing parts of the breast and the dewlaps. This object is similar to S-69-45 and S-22-61 (respectively no. 46 and 48 in this catalogue). Whether it was applied to a left or a right wall is uncertain.

50. S-68-62
Part of the front foot of a sitting animal in high relief and three dimensions. This fragment shows the knee and the cannon, similar to S-72-54 (no. 47 in this catalogue, Fig. 136).

51. Unlabeled
Fig. 137
Height: 270 width: 180
This stucco is one of those brought to the Muséum after the site's destruction and before the beginning of the excavation. It shows the forepart of a sitting humped animal similar to S-69-45 (no. 46 in this catalogue, Fig. 135). The great advantage of this object is its well preserved hump.
The hump is globular in shape (diam. ca.

Fig. 137 - Stucco, cat. no. 51, field label: unlabeled; partially-preserved forepart of a crouching zebu.





Fig. 138 - Stucco, cat. no. 52, field label 114-93-29; crouching human-headed bull.



Fig. 139 - Stucco, cat. no. 52, field label 114-93-29; crouching human-headed bull.

animal ears reaching the level of the hair curls between the diadem and the crown. Earrings are composed of two superimposed beads.

A long cluster of hair hangs from either side of the head. The one on the left side has four long zigzagging locks with spiral endings, while the one to the right has only three. The surface of the locks is left smooth.

Three vertical and parallel lines are cut on the bull's breast, under the necklace. They create two parallel bands, intended probably to receive decorative patterns of which an unclear part is visible right on the breast-bone. This pattern, a circular (?) band, could also be the pendant of the necklace. There is a conical projection on each side of these decorative bands. The exterior surface of each projection is marked by heavily incised, parallel lines. The combination of the projection and the lines shows, though schematically, the folded



Fig. 140 - Stucco, cat. no. 52, field label: Museum no. 16; crouching human-headed bull.

Two wings extend outward from the area behind the ears and the hair clusters. Each wing is composed of four large flat bands, presumably the feathers, separated from each other by incisions. The tapering end of the uppermost band on each wing, which is also the longest one, is turned inward much like a question mark. The shortening length of the band, as one moves downward, gives the wings a curved outline.

As is mentioned above, a second example of this human-headed bull was found during the destruction of the site, prior to the excavation (Museum no. 16, Fig. 140). Although the two examples are similar they show certain differences. For example, the ears of the bull at the Museum are carefully hollowed and there is a clear distinction between the neck, the earrings and the hair cluster. Moreover, the lower part of the folded legs, so schematically rendered in 114-93, is here modeled in three dimensions. Finally, on the Museum piece the ornamental section on the thorax has a very clear outline as well as a decorative pattern. The latter is composed of rectangles with a hole in the center, probably representing the curls.



Fig. 141 - Stucco, cat. no. 52, field label 114-93-29; crouching human-headed bull.

forelegs of the creature. It is interesting that the animal rests on its belly, its legs tucked in

3 - THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUCCO MOTIFS

Introduction

In dealing with the decorative system of the excavated building and the place each stucco object may have had in this composition, one must be fully aware of the importance of the following factors: there is reason to believe that at least part of the building had crumbled immediately or shortly after the events which caused its abandonment. Nevertheless, the discovery of four small clay wheels on the floor of room 208 suggests that those areas of the building that did not collapse immediately, may have had visitors, perhaps children or other members of the neighboring communities⁴. These visitors were presumably responsible for the dispersion of some stuccos in other areas of the building – i.e. areas other than those they originally decorated.

Many of the stucco objects were gathered before the excavation began, by people who were not aware of their archaeological value. Although they did their best, and I am grateful to all of them, they certainly did not or could not assemble all the pieces. Moreover, they had a tendency to collect the most «beautiful» and the least damaged objects. The bulldozer's repeated back and forth movements were certainly decisive in dispersing the objects over a large area. At least in one case it is quite hard to determine if a group of stuccos were in their original place when discovered, or were brought there by the bulldozer. Under the bulldozer's weight the dis-

⁴ It will be suggested later that when it was abandoned, the construction was still unfinished. The manor house, therefore, never truly functioned.

placed earth became compact and the heavy winter rainfalls made it look undisturbed.

When the expedition reached the site, it found the remaining stucco works, or pieces with no special form, scattered all around the site. We even gathered some stuccos from a garden some 100 m from the site. Moreover, many objects were taken by the villagers. We recovered one such object, a bust (catalogue no. 26, Fig. 102), but some others may have remained in their hands. Some stuccos could simply have been destroyed by the children of Hājīābād.

As we saw in the third chapter, among the characteristics of the different sections of the excavated monument of Hājīābād were the presence, absence, or type of decoration. These factors, combined with others, helped me to assign a function to the different sections within the building.

The Ceremonial Area

The ceremonial Section (A) was decorated both by the wall painting and the stucco, the stucco being used outdoors.

Courtyard 178 and the portico in front of eyvān 149, therefore, were exclusively decorated with stuccos. During the excavation of the courtyard a row of decorative elements was found all along walls 125 and 138, as well as the pillars to the southern side of courtyard (L. 162, 200, 228-229, Figs. 25, 28-29, 142).

It must be remembered that the lateral walls of the courtyard also had a row of niches built at the lowermost level. It is interesting that the two walls and the pillars have all been preserved at approximately the same height. I consider this level as the possible height of the niches, for the following reason.

This area of the site was not disturbed by the bulldozer. This relatively harmonious elevation therefore did not result from an artificial leveling. The only explanation, consequently, would be that the walls and the pillars collapsed from this level because they were probably weaker here than at any other point of their height.

Unlike no. 8 (semi-cylinders modeled side by side, Figs. 68-69), plaques of no. 7 (continuous band of swastika, Figs. 67-68) are applied on massive blocks of gypsum, thick enough to roof the niches of the lateral walls (ca. 220 mm deep). Most probably, therefore, the niches were roofed only by these blocks. In this case, the lower, recessed band of the swastika block (see the description under cat. no. 7 and Figs. 67-68) would have been flush with the surface of the pillars of the niche. Consequently, the upper, decorated band of the block would have projected ca. 30 mm from the recessed surface.

The two elements (nos. 7-8) were found aligned side by side quite regularly, even if not always well preserved. No. 7 was closer to the walls and no. 8, next to it, towards the center of the courtyard (Fig. 142). This alignment

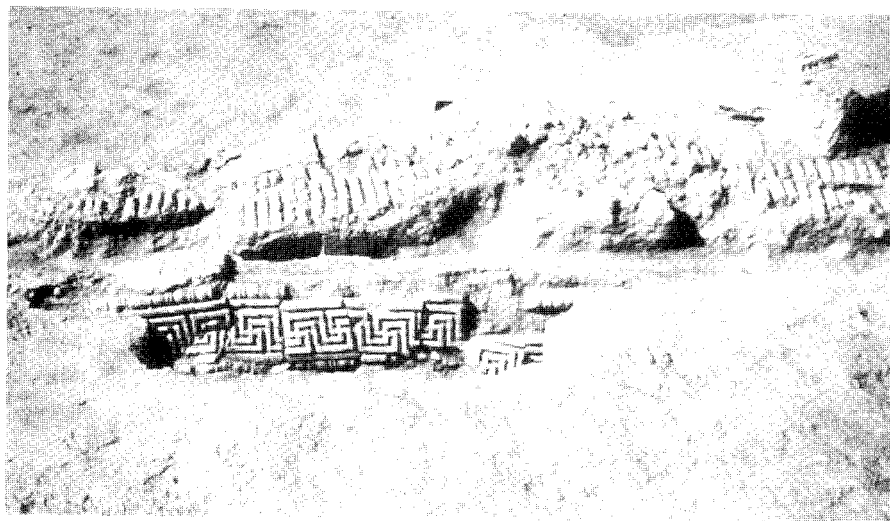


Fig. 142 - Fallen decorative order of L. 178 *in situ*.

springing line should be at the level of their shoulder. The position of the head, slightly bent forward, supports this suggestion. Bust no. 32, which was poorly preserved, was uncovered in square N 13 not far from half-column 127 and object no. 19. Nowhere in this neighborhood can bust 32's original place be assigned. Since this section of the site was not disturbed in modern times, I suggest that the object may have been taken – probably from section C – and brought here by intruders in antiquity.

The Religious Area (Chapel)

Section C (chapel) was decorated exclusively with stucco. In this section, room 104 had apparently been very lightly decorated. Although the destruction caused by the bulldozer makes it hard to judge, nevertheless a comparison between the stucco elements found during this operation and those found throughout the excavation, clearly shows that of the two extensively decorated areas of this section, room 114 and courtyard 107, the former was far more densely decorated.

Courtyard 107 was decorated with small-scale half columns. The base of one such column is still *in situ* on sidewalk 110. No. 13-16 (various fragments of small-scale half columns, Figs. 76-79) help us reconstruct a comprehensive image of the half-column's original form. Although of different proportions, the bell-shaped base of the half columns in courtyard 107 has the same pattern as those of the engaged columns 127 and 129 (Figs. 84-85, 87-88, 143).

Nos. 13 and 15, both column bases, together with the one still *in situ*, prove that courtyard 107 was decorated at least with three half columns. One of these three being applied against wall 119 on sidewalk 110, a second engaged column may have been attached to the eastern wall of the courtyard, in a corresponding position. Nothing can be said of the place of the third column. The third half column may in fact be one of a pair of such elements employed in the same courtyard, provided of course that the artist had followed a strict symmetrical pattern. No

itself is further evidence for the proposed position of the two elements. Each element has kept its original position in relation to the other elements around it, no. 7 closer to the wall and under no. 8. Therefore the order of the decorative elements on the walls of courtyard 178 was probably the following: from the bottom to the top: niches, the plaques decorated with swastikas, and the half cylinders (Fig. 68 and Pl. B,3). Accordingly the upper rim of the slabs over the half cylinders may have been 1.60 m high, a height that could correspond to that of the openings (L. 187 and 193) in the lateral walls.

There is no doubt about the original position of large-scale busts no. 18 and 19 (Pl. VIII and Figs. 82-83, 86). They were both found just in front of half columns 129 and 127 (Figs. 84-85, 87-88), on either side of eyvan 149. Aside from these two half columns there is no imaginable place in their immediate vicinity where the two busts would be placed. It is most likely, therefore, that the two busts had once been used as «capitals» for the two half columns (Fig. 143).

The maximum well-preserved height of the engaged columns is about 72 cm, but traces of it extend upward for another 30 cm or so. Hence each bust (ca. 50 cm high) probably stood at a height of at least ca. 150 cm. However, there are reasons to believe that they were placed even higher than this. If the busts were attached at a height of ca. 150 cm, the tops of their heads would have been visible to a standing person. The tops of the heads of the busts were left unfinished: it thus seems that they were not meant to be seen. Moreover, the tentative reconstruction of the two busts, and especially that of no. 18 (Pl. VIII and Figs. 82-83), shows that their heads are slightly bent forward as if they were looking downward from above.

I suggested, in the third chapter, that the springing of the eyvan's vault may have begun at about 2 m above the ground level. Owning to the importance of the eyvan and its arch as the illustration and symbol of the social status and power of its owner, it is possible that the busts were applied in such a way as to suggest carrying the weight of the arch. If so, the

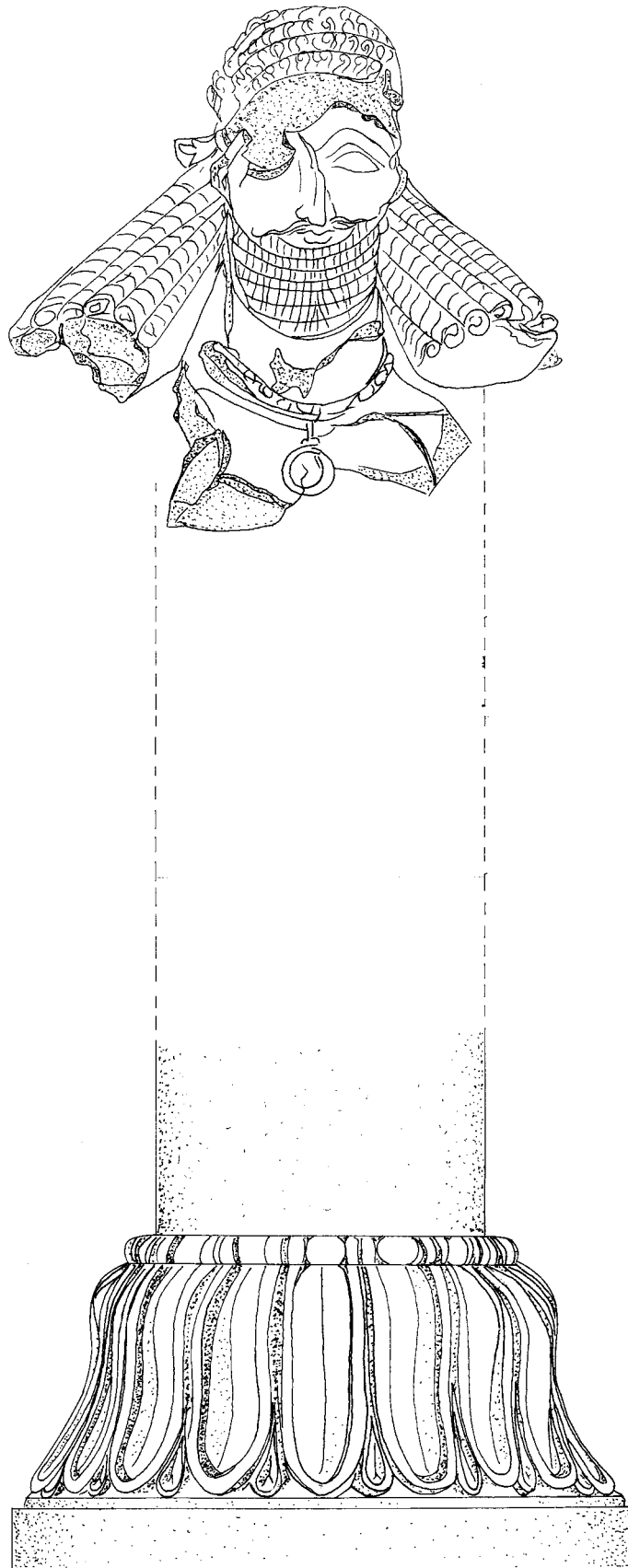


Fig. 143 - Tentative reconstruction of engaged column 129.

trace of a second half-column, however, is found on sidewalk 110.

No. 16 was discovered in square N 10, i.e. in the eastern half of courtyard 107. Nevertheless this does not necessarily suggest that there were two engaged columns on either side of this courtyard. The third half column could have been applied on the wall facing entrance 113, although this position seems somehow unbalanced when compared with the perfect symmetry of many areas of the building.

If the stuccos gathered from the surface of the site while it was being bulldozed – and later in the early days of the expedition's activities – did not come from that part of the site which had been deeply dug by the bulldozer, one must conclude that they come from either courtyard 107, room 104 or 114.

One more object, 1008-26-10, was found inside courtyard 107. This, the right hand of a nude child holding grapes, seems to be intrusive. It may have fallen into the courtyard on the collapse of L. 114 or perhaps been deposited by the visitors, after the building was abandoned.

The greater part of room 114 escaped bull-

Nos. 28 (Figs. 106-107) and 31 (Fig. 110) are among the objects brought to the Museum before we reached the site. In light of our discussion of no. 17, these too may have belonged to the decoration of courtyard 107. These objects show that there were at least two more large-scale busts on this site. Interestingly, this brings the number of the large-scale busts which probably originated from L. 107 to three, corresponding to the number of the partially preserved, and tentatively reconstructed.

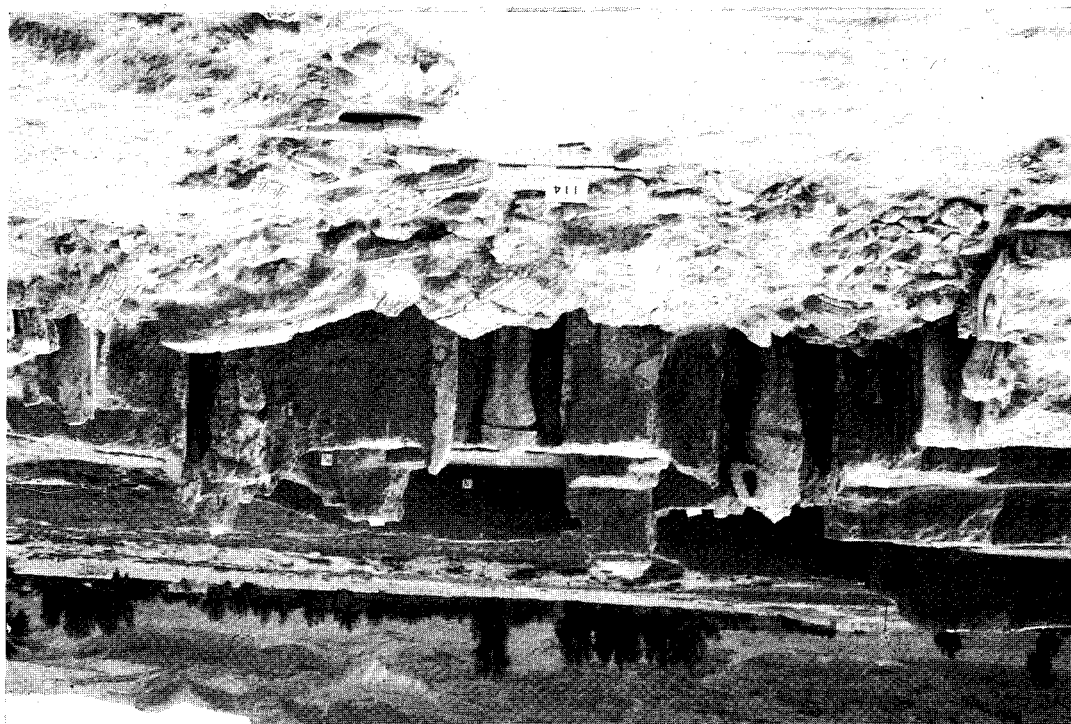


Fig. 144 - Unit 114 during the excavations.



Fig. 145 - Unit 114 by the end of the excavations.

structed half columns of the same area. Nos. 32 (Fig. 111) and 33 (Fig. 112) parts of frontal, large-scale busts, may have belonged to either no. 28 or 31.

From courtyard 107, through a wide doorway (L. 113), one enters room 114, the most lavishly decorated area of the building. Fortunately the western half of the room had partially escaped the bulldozer's destructive activity (Pl. XXVI and Fig. 144). The situation in the eastern half of the room is as follows: the southeastern quarter of the room together with the southern pillar of entrance 113 are completely destroyed beyond the floor level, while the corresponding area on the north of the room is ruined almost to ground level.

The greatest number of the stuccos discovered during the excavation comes from this small area.

Although wall 133 limiting the room from the western side has preserved the same height it had before the bulldozer's work, ironically, it does not tell us much about the decorative pattern of the room. Most of the decorative elements on this wall are badly eroded, some beyond recognition. Nevertheless, a combination of the information provid-

ed by the decorative pattern of this wall and that of the lateral ones, enables us to partially reconstruct the original decoration of the room.

Wall 133 has three niches (Pl. XXVII and Figs. 145-146). They are symmetrically spaced, but the distance between the destroyed niches from the nearest corner of the room is shorter than that between the central niche from the other two.

Wall 118 on the west, the only other wall of the room that revealed its original pattern, bears two niches and one opening (Figs. 146-147).

The wall on the south of the room (unlabeled, opposite 118) is only partially preserved. On its surviving portion two niches were uncovered. They are symmetrical reproductions of the two niches on 118. The emerging conclusion is that the southeastern quarter of the room, which had been destroyed, may originally have had the same pattern as the northeastern quarter. We may therefore reconstruct the southern (unlabeled) wall of room 114 in the same form as its northern wall (L. 118) with two niches in its western half and a doorway in its eastern part.

Each niche is 50 cm wide in aperture and

approximately 24 cm deep. But the niche's rear wall is ca. 4 cm wider than the aperture. As a result, the lateral walls of the niche join the rear one with slightly acute angles. Moreover, the lateral walls of the niches had bent inward to some extent in the area near the niche's floor (Fig. 148).

Inside each of these niches there were the remains of a statue of a standing woman of the type represented in this catalogue by objects no. 34-37. These objects, however, do not provide a complete image of the statues.

The badly eroded statue of the woman inside the southern niche of wall 133 (Pls. XXVI-XXVII and Figs. 144-145) had her left hand on her left breast. The form of no. 36, on the other hand, shows that her right hand was not bent so much and it may have hung simply beside the body. Hand no. 36b (also visible on Figs. 116, 148) shows that the woman was grasping something in her right

hand. A comparison with no. 38 (small-scale dressed female, Pl. XXI), however, indicated that the large-scale dressed women, if all identical, may have practically had the same gesture as the small statuettes (no. 38). Her left hand rested on the breast and in the right hand, she gracefully held her skirt. The skirt, probably of light and fine fabric and multifolded, covers her feet and the surface of the semicircular pedestal on which the statue stands. This pedestal is ca. 5 cm high and about 42-43 cm in diameter (Figs. 147-148). The floor of the niches is 12 to 15 cm higher than the floor of room 114. Each niche was framed by a decorative band on either side. In some cases this band is sufficiently well preserved to reveal its form, notably on b 4, d 8, f 12, g 14, h 15, and especially on h 16 (Fig. 146). In some other cases the surface of the wall still betrays the width of the decorative band it once bore. This also helps us

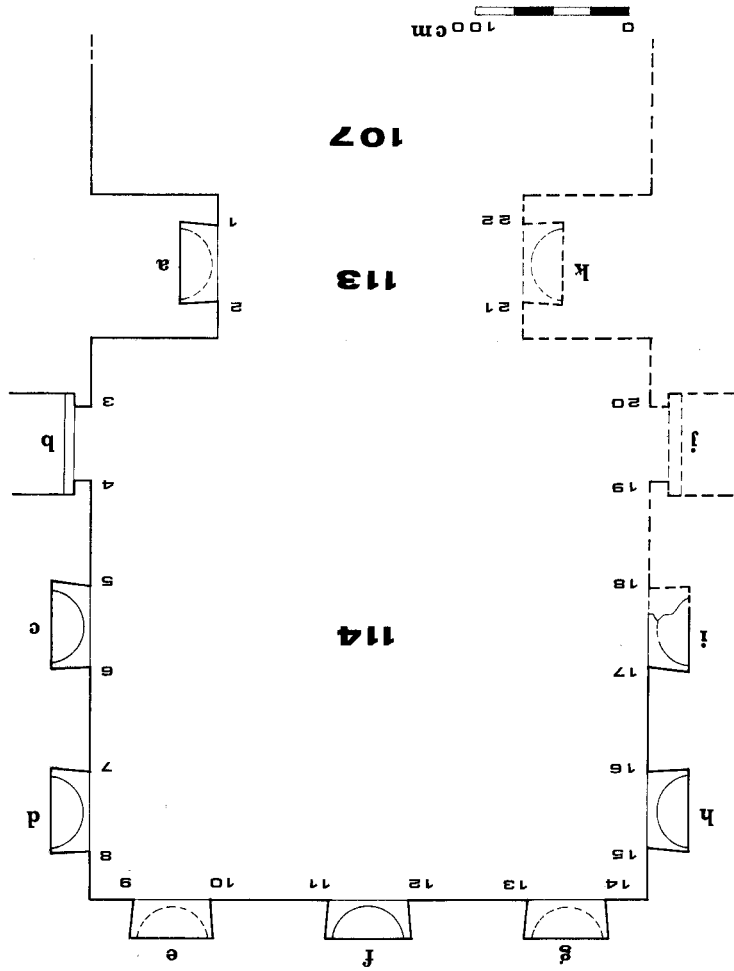


Fig. 146 - Unit 114; plan.



Fig. 147 - Northern part of unit 114 (the plaque with figure 113 should be ignored).

establish the nature of the band of that particular place.

The lower part of band no. 16 (niche h, Fig. 148) has survived practically undamaged. This consists of a band of swastikas, like the central part of object no. 7 (Fig. 67), of the catalogue, framed between two rows of astragals. This composition is about 25 cm wide.

Bands no. 8 (niche d), 14 (niche g), and 15 (niche h) are similar to no. 16 (Fig. 148). Some of their swastikas still survive. A few astragals still preserved on no. 4 (entrance 220, Figs. 146,b-147) prove that here also the band had been decorated with swastikas. Band no. 12 on the other hand is a replica of objects no. 1 and 2 of the catalogue, a floral decorative motif (Figs. 60-61). This band is ca. 15 cm wide.

Traces of the bands with the same width can be seen on nos. 5 and 6 (niche c) as well as no. 17. This clearly shows that the band with floral motifs were applied on the niches in the middle of each side, namely niches c, f, and i.

Remains of similar bands (floral motif) on nos. 1 and 2 (niche a) are also found buried in the plastered floor of L. 113.

If in the reconstruction of the decorative patterns framing the niches, I follow the same symmetrical pattern as the layout of room 114 itself, I reach the following conclusion: nos.

1-2, 5-6, 11-12, 17-18, and 21-22, had floral bands; whereas nos. 3-4, 7-10, 13-16, and 19-20 had swastika bands.

However, as it can be seen from band 16 (Fig. 148) and the above-mentioned position of bands 1 and 2, the artist had placed the decorative bands before the floor of the room was plastered. Consequently a few centimeters of each band are still buried inside this floor. With further examination of the areas where the floor still exists, one can verify whether the suggested reconstruction of the decorative bands is correct or not.

On the plastered surface of the pillar decorated with bands 16 and 17 there is a partly broken circular pattern with a convex center (Pl. XXVII and Fig. 148). Its diameter, however, corresponds to that of the lion head roundels (18.5 cm), represented in this catalogue by object no. 41 (Figs. 124-129). The convex surface of the wall in this part matches the concave back of the roundels. One example of these lion heads, found right in front of the pillar between bands 16 and 17, may well be the one once applied on this place.

On the pillar between bands 12 and 13 there is another, larger, circular impression corresponding, in terms of its location, to the one which was mentioned above. This indicates that the lion heads were most probably

serves as a typical sample of the head of statues inside the room. In summary, we see that no niche could be shorter than ca. 140 cm. The curved architectural molding fragments that were scattered here and there in room 114 probably all come from the arches that capped the niches and doorways. A complete section of one such molding, an example of which can be seen on Pl. XXVI and Fig. 144, in front of the pillar between bands 10-11, is 12.5 cm wide. It is possible, however, that two different forms of molding were used. Object no. 12 of the catalogue (a molding consisting of projecting and receding ele-

ments that probably only two such motifs were applied on the planar surface of those pillars decorated with one floral and one swastika band, i.e. between bands 4-5, 6-7, 10-11, 12-13, 16-17, and 18-19. The small number of the uncovered lion heads (12 examples) indicates that probably only two such motifs were applied on each pillar.

On the pillar between bands 16 and 17 the distance from the circular impression of the lion head roundel to the floor is about 30 cm. The diameter of the roundel is 18.5 cm, all together, 48.5 cm. It is possible that the same pattern was repeated for the second roundel as well, given, of course, that two such motifs

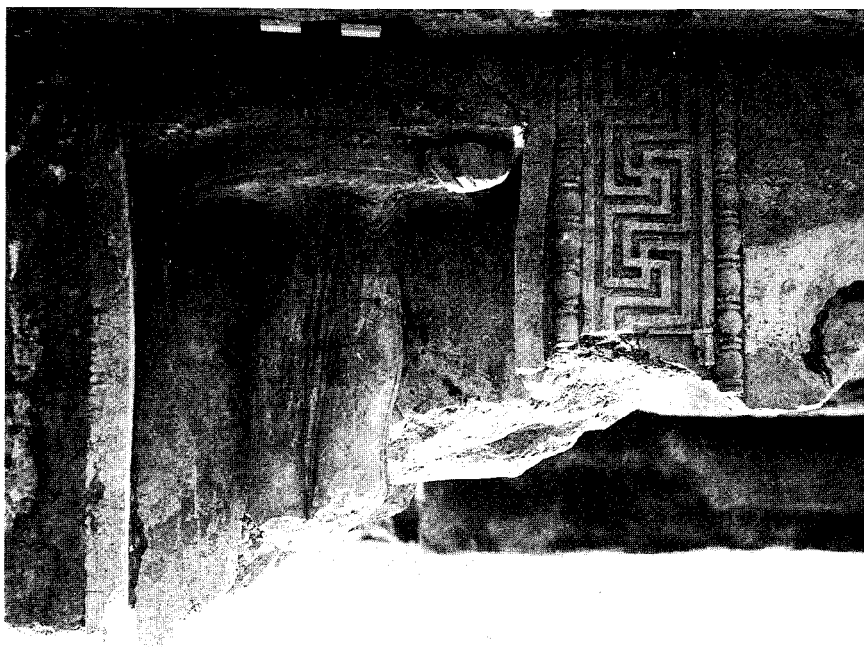


Fig. 148 - Unit 114, niche with cat. no. 36b (partially-preserved right hand) and the legs (from above the knees down) of a large-scale dressed woman.

ments, Fig. 75) which was collected before the excavation began, represents the second form. No molding of this form was found during the excavation. This could be for the following two reasons: either this molding was used in spanning opening d (L. 220) and its counterpart (reconstructed doorway j) or in covering niches a and k. It is also possible that the arch of entrance 113 was decorated with this molding. Further examination to establish the diameter of the circle of which object no. 12 was a segment is impossible, unfortunately, for the time being. In any case, the

were applied on each pillar. Therefore, the pattern of decoration with the lion heads may have extended to at least 1 m above the

room's floor.

The height of the niches was most probably closely related to that of the statues in them. Although badly eroded, the decapitated statue inside niche g is the only one which preserves the full height of the body. This is ca. 117 cm tall. To this we must add a minimum of 22.5 cm for the head and probably another 10 cm for the hairglobe. Object no. 34 (Pls. XIX-XX and Figs. 113-114) of the catalogue

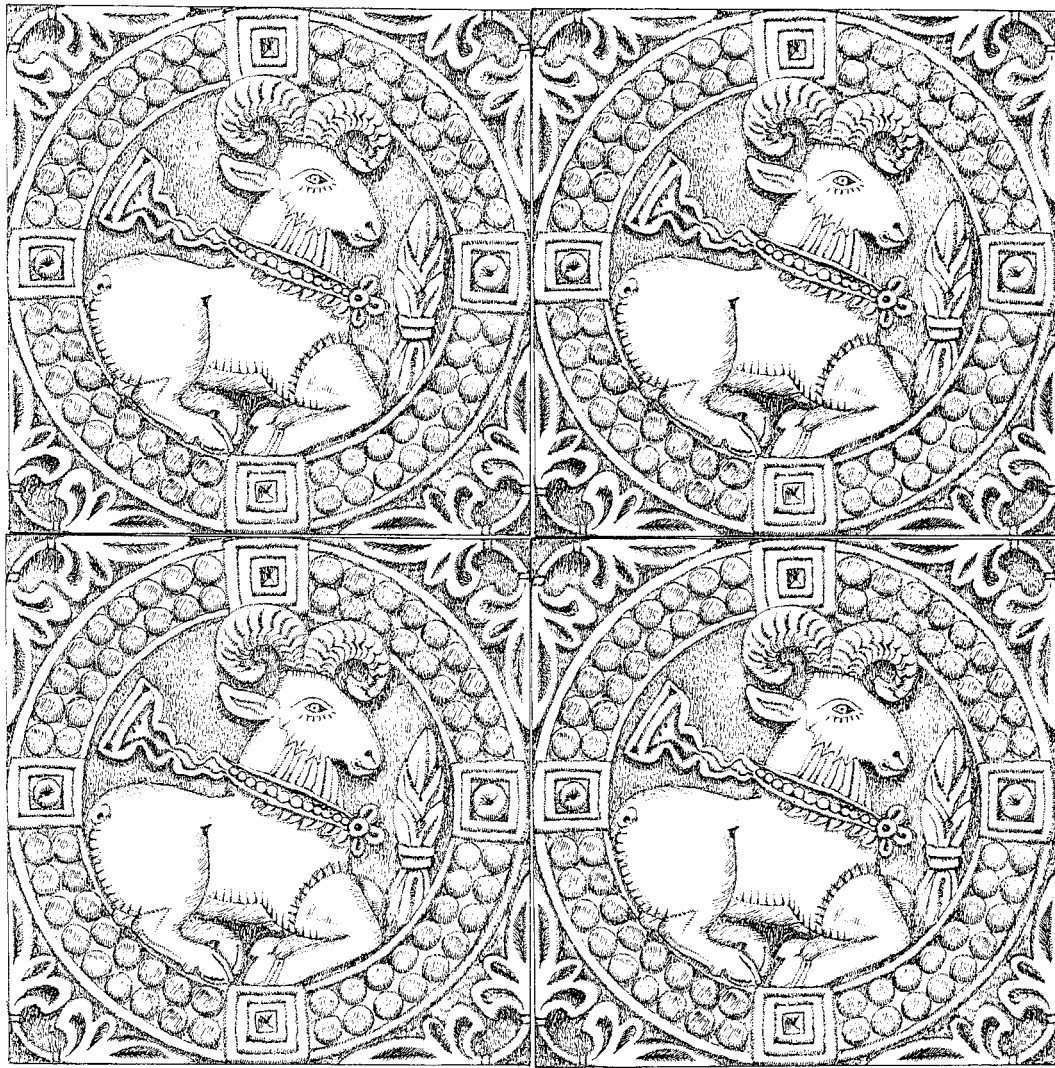


Fig. 149 - Triangular patterns filling empty spaces between circular frames (J. KRÖGER, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor*, fig. 76).

diameter is difficult to calculate because of the object's small size.

In large areas with limited decoration, the spot on which each decorative item is discovered is of great importance in the reconstruction of the entire system. This is clearly observable in courtyard 178. On the other hand, this does not work in a lavishly decorated but limited area such as room 114 (3.70 m × 3.70 m). We do not know which of the room's walls collapsed first. Besides, the Sasanian system of applied decorative plaques itself worsens the problem. There is no guaranty that elements of various walls did not fall down at different times, independently of the collapse of the wall on which they were applied, and before the first wall was entirely ruined. This

process could have continued for a long period of time if all the walls did not collapse at the same time.

In two spots we found elements represented by objects nos. 4 and 5 of the catalogue, triangular plaques with floral decoration (Figs. 64-65) – near the center of the room on the axis between niches c and i and right in front of niche h (Pl. XXVI).

In order to determine how these plaques were used, I first tried to situate them between the busts, as shown by Pls. XVII-XVIII. For the following reasons, however, this use of the plaques seems unlikely. In order to separate the busts, one needs two triangular plaques. Furthermore, to frame the busts, we need not only these triangular

L. 114

than eight complete and twelve half triangles would be needed to frame all the busts from L. 114, with the exception of the medium-sized royal busts (catalogue no. 20 and its counterparts). However, no such half triangles were found.

The find spots of the triangular plaques may help determine their correct placement. The two uncovered triangular plaques were found near fragments of arch moldings. The proximity of the triangular plaque and arch molding found near the center of area 114 could be accidental, since no direct relationship between the two pieces can be demonstrated. The second plaque, however, seems to have preserved its original relationship to the molding found nearby. This plaque was found right next to a molding segment, housing it in one of its curves (Pl. XXVI). This relative position of the plaque and molding segment – also found at some other sites (Fig. 151) – reveals that the triangular plaque was in fact used to separate the moldings of the niches from one another, a position which is partially reconstructed on Fig. 73.

This triangular plaque, object no. 4, also helps to demonstrate the shape and the height of the arches that spanned the niches in room 114. Considering that each niche is 50 cm wide, if the arch were round, its height would have to be ca. 25 cm. To fulfill its task as a decorative element that fills the empty, triangular space between two arches, the upper side of this triangular plaque had to be placed

5 Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekoration*, pp. 67-68, fig. 33, and pp. 138-139.
6 *Ibidem*, pp. 161-162, fig. 97.

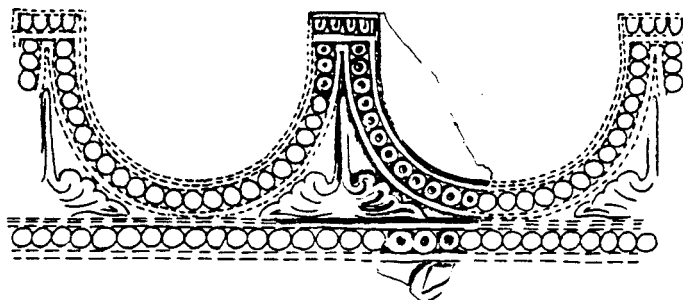
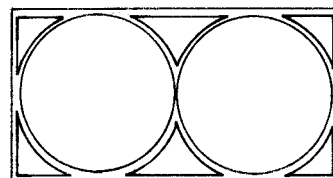


Fig. 151 - Triangular pattern filling empty space between two arches (J. Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekoration*, fig. 97).

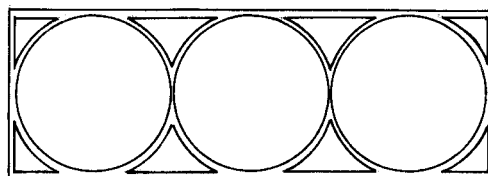
plaques but also several half triangles to close the sides at the top and bottom (Fig. 149). If so, the half triangles would have been more numerous than the complete ones. In this case, four half triangles and four complete ones would have been needed to separate the busts on the western wall; and four half triangles and two complete ones would have been needed for each lateral wall, north and south (Fig. 150). All together, therefore, no less

Fig. 150 - Composition of round and triangular plaques.

Lateral walls



Western wall



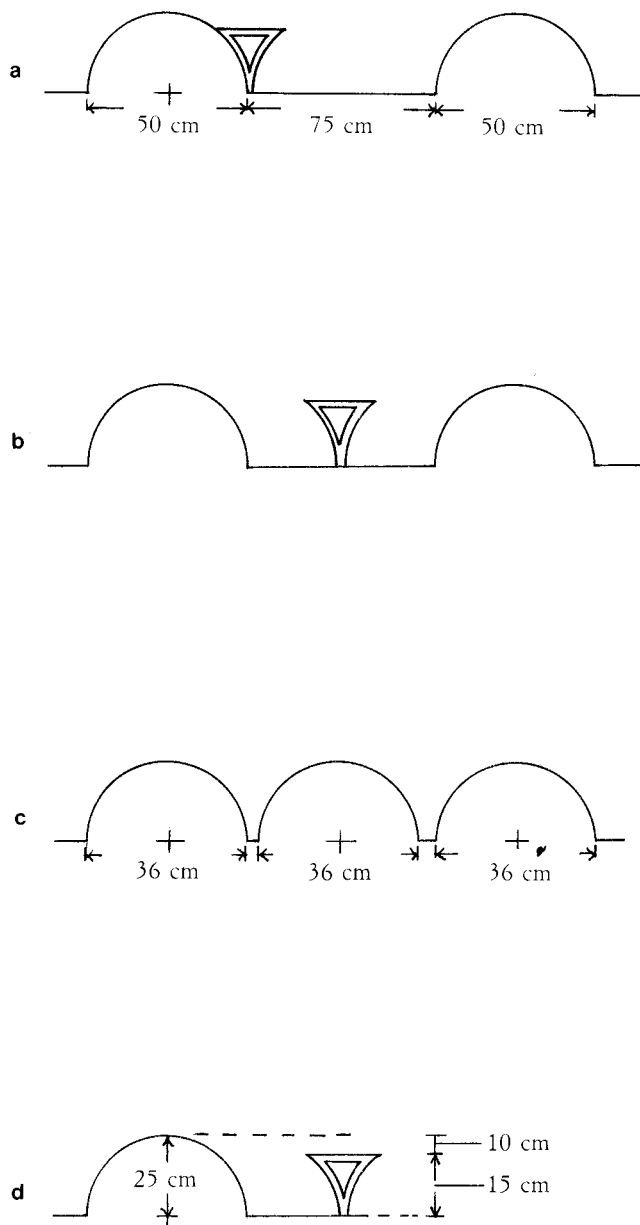


Fig. 152 - Tentative reconstructions of arches and triangular plaques in L. 114.

at the same level as the apex of each arch. Object no. 4, however, is only about 15.5 cm long, i.e. ca. 10 cm shorter than the height of the arches of the niches, provided of course that, as is tentatively suggested above, these arches were semicircular (Fig. 152,d).

Here, however, several problems arise. Considering that the distance between each niche was about 75 cm, the moldings could in no way have come close enough to each other to be able to fill the curved side of the object. If we maintain the viewpoint that this object

filled the empty triangular space between each two niches, we should place them not immediately next to the arches – which, as it will be remembered, do not come close to each other – but at a certain distance from them (Fig. 152,b).

This solution, however, is in obvious contrast with the evidence provided by the position of the triangular object and the molding found side by side in front of niche h. This explanation, therefore, seems hardly acceptable.

As the triangles were molded, they should all have had more or less the same curves. A curve following that of object no. 4, nevertheless, cannot span an opening ca. 50 cm wide, i.e. the width of a niche in L. 114. The average diameter of such a curve would be between 36 and 38 cm.

Reconstruction of a round arch – or an arch close to it – by the shorter diameter (36 cm) brings the apex to a point about 18 cm above the impost, and close to the flat, upper side of the triangle. Even so the two curves, those of object no. 4 and the arch, do not exactly follow each other.

We may also tentatively reconstruct the arch by following the curve of the lateral sides of the triangular plaque. To this end we need to flatten the curve of the round arch and create a basket-handle arch. Even so, the apex of the molding does not stop at the triangle's upper limit.

It is almost an impossible task, therefore, to fill the lateral sides of the arch with object no. 4 and also to keep the apex in line with its upper, flat side. Accordingly one may reach the conclusion that this triangular plaque may never have completely filled the triangular space and the molding's apex may have been higher than this plaque, at least for some 5 cm.

In this case the span of the arch could have been kept at ca. 36 cm, as is suggested above. This arch may have been a basket-handle arch or a segment of a round arch.

The remaining gap (50 cm niche minus 36 cm arch = 14 cm), however, had to be filled by the moldings. These must have been fixed in such a way that the ends of the curved molding projected into the niche for about half the molding's width.

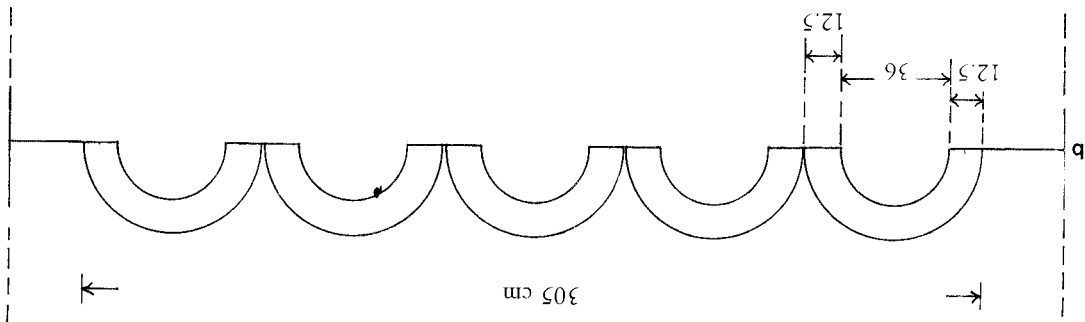
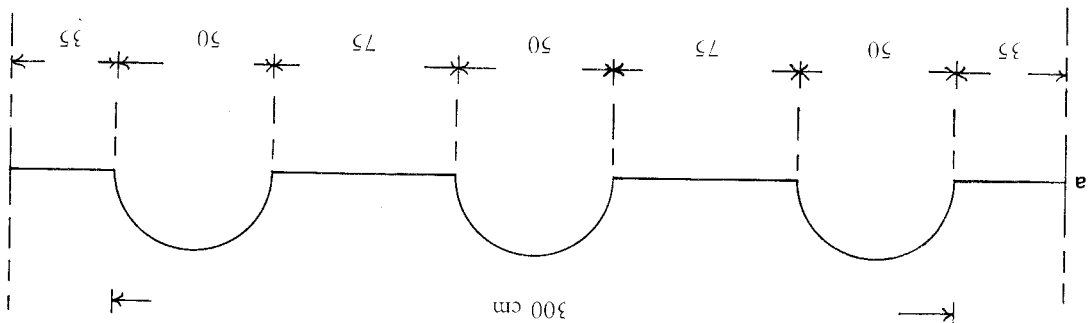


Fig. 153 - Tentative reconstruction of the moldings of niches in the western wall (L. 133) of L. 114.

Here, however, another problem must be solved. If the triangular plaque had to fill the empty space between each arch, then the moldings of these arches had to be very close to one another. This apparently was not the case in L. 114. Here the distance between niches was ca. 75 cm.

I suggest, therefore, that the curved architectural moldings not only capped the niches, but also spanned the distance between each pair of niches and created an alternating pattern of blind arcade and arch (Fig. 153,b).

In regard to doorways b and j, in spite of the reconstruction suggested in Fig. 154, the question remains open. In will be proposed later in this study (page 153-154) that the horizontal decorative plaques 9 and 10 (Figs. 70-72) had been probably conceived to be placed above entrance 220 (b in Fig. 146) inside L. 104. If these plaques were not intended to be placed above the arched doorway moldings, as they are in the Sasanian monuments at Fir-

ruzābād and Qal'a-ye Dōkhtar⁷, then they may have been intended to horizontally cover the door span, in the same way as Persepolitan doorways⁸. However, in regard to the place of the moldings above the niches, the latter hypothesis creates a dilemma: either the moldings covered only the niches (c-i) and the pillars between them and stopped before reaching doorways b (L. 220) and j, or they were placed much higher and crowned the wall, near the rim, as the last decorative elements⁹ and all other decorative elements (including no. 40, Pl. XXIV and Fig. 123) were placed under them.

For several millennia before the Sasanian

⁷ GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, fig. 162; HUFF, «Qal'a-ye Dukhtar bei Firuzabad», fig. 4.
⁸ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, figs. 27, 56A, and 62 A-D.
⁹ For this suggestion I am grateful to Prof. A. Invernizzi (University of Turin).

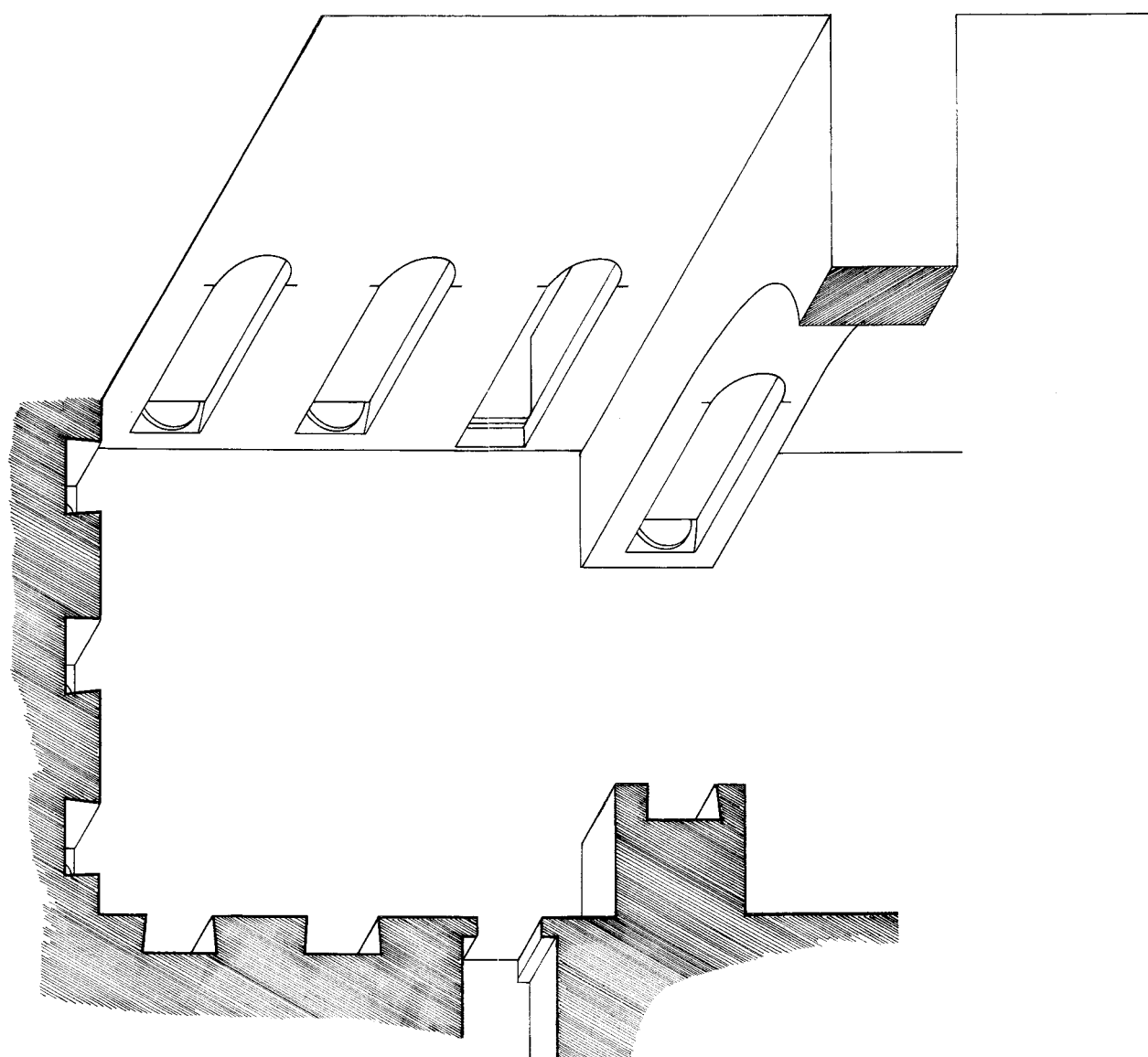


Fig. 154 - Unit 114, isometric projection.

period, animals in composite or natural forms had served as the guardians of outstanding monuments, palaces and temples. These animals were usually in pairs.

Human-headed winged bulls for example kept «Gateway A» of the citadel in *Korsābād*¹⁰ and the Gate of Xerxes in *Persepolis*¹¹.

The stucco human-headed winged bull no. 52 (Pl. XXV and Figs. 138-139, 141) was found in front of band 4, on the left side of entrance 220 (Fig. 146, b). Another example of the same object (Fig. 140) was sent to the Museum among other stucco works unearthed by the bulldozer. Considering the role

of human-headed, winged bulls in Ancient Mesopotamia and Iran as the protective genii and the place they occupied on either side of the gateways on the one hand, as well as the spot on which no. 52 was discovered on the other, I suggest that this object, together with the Museum example, were applied on either side of entrance 220.

The bull's head leans forward, strongly suggesting that these two objects were placed on a point higher than the height of an average

¹⁰ PARROT, *Assur*, p. 30, pl. 30.

¹¹ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, p. 65, pls. 9, 11.

I in Kis¹⁸. At the same time the examples from Hājīābad revive the old tradition of the profile body in high relief and the head in the round and frontal view very close to, if not identical with, the form of some of the human-headed bulls of Kōrsābād¹⁹.

Besides this function, the bull had served in different periods and societies as a divine symbol²⁰. The two functions, nevertheless, were not independent of each other.

At least four crouching humped bulls protected or decorated the religious section of the excavated building in Hājīābad. Of these four, two (represented by nos. 46, Fig. 135 and 51, Fig. 137) were applied on the left side and the other two (represented by nos. 47-48, Fig. 136 and probably also nos. 49-50) on the right. Moreover, a closer examination of these objects, and especially nos. 46 and 51, reveals that for the reasons given below they may have been fixed in two or four corners.

One side of each sample, apart from that portion of the neck which is in the round, is left unworked. This is obviously the side which had been fixed inside the wall's plaster. On the other hand, all four bodies (nos. 46, 48-51) are broken on a more or less straight line just behind the hump, showing clearly that this was actually the limit of the object. In this regard no. 46 is especially revealing. Here, not only do we see the line separating the object from the plaster of the background which continues to the left, but the slightly upward curved surface of the work at the edge of the broken area, makes it evident that the protoma had its back against a wall extended towards the viewer.

Of the four bodies, one was brought to the Museum before the beginning of the excavation and the other three were found scattered

¹² *Ibidem*, figs. 54 E-55.

¹³ PARROT, *Assur*, pl. 88.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 172-174, pl. 221c.

¹⁵ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, p. 65, fig. 27, pl. 10 A-B.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 69-70, pl. 37 B-C.

¹⁷ KRÖGER, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor*, pp. 109-110, fig. 61.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 191, pl. 82,1.

¹⁹ PARROT, *Assur*, p. 30, pl. 34.

²⁰ Notably Hadad and all his counterparts (Dussaud, «Hadad», col. 2158-2159).

In the previous chapter I suggested that the arches of the entrances leading to the portico may have been quite low (Fig. 48 and Pl. B,2). Although nothing proves that all the arches of the building had this form, there is no evidence to the contrary either. If built in this shape, therefore, the lateral decorative pattern of doorways b (L. 220) and j could have been different. Here the moldings of the curve similar to those of the niches could be of no use. In this case object no. 52 could have been placed at a point lower than the upper level of the moldings of the niches, probably right atop the swastika bands. However, while the human-headed winged bull guardians of Kōrsābād and Persepolis are standing animals, that of room 114 is kneeling. Diverging thus from the tradition of the gate protectors of the ancient world, it resembles in its form the capitals of the columns of the Council Hall in Persepolis¹².

man. Decorative bands no. 3-4 of the entrance were of the swastika pattern and extended almost certainly as high as the springing of the molding of the arch. The arches, as we saw previously, were connected to each other by triangular decorative patterns, and their upper limits were more or less aligned. Therefore, if this reconstruction is accepted, the human-headed winged bulls of L. 114 were placed at a point higher than the arches. Nevertheless, another reconstruction may well be possible.

During the Sassanian period, as is demonstrated by the high relief from al-Ma'ārid¹⁷, the tradition of the bull as guardian continued. Objects no. 43-51 in this catalogue represent the same tradition in Hājīābad. However, unlike most of the above-mentioned examples, the zebu of room 114 are kneeling animals, similar, in this respect, to the one discovered in the northern eyvan of Building

G and the Palace of Darius¹⁶.

Another protector animal of the ancient world was the bull or the zebu. For example, bulls guarded entrances of the 8th century B.C. Arslan-Tash¹³ and the Gate of Ištar¹⁴. In the Iranian realm this animal was also employed as the guardian in two places at Persepolis; in the western doorway of the Gate of Xerxes¹⁵ and in front of the stairway to Palace

on the surface of the site. Therefore none of them was found in the southern, more or less undisturbed, half of room 114 during the excavation. Consequently, one might attribute them to those parts of section B that were completely destroyed by the bulldozer, namely courtyard 107, room 104, entrance 113, and the immediate neighborhood of 113 inside room 114.

If used as guardians, the bulls should have been applied somewhere quite close to the main, and consequently the largest, entrance of the area on the main axis, as can be seen in the Gate of Xerxes. Here the main entrance is L. 113. On the other hand, in Bīšāpūr, the bulls are placed atop one of the wall of the temple²¹, an area, as we saw in chapter III, close in form and function to room 114. And last but not least, in Kīš, the sitting bull comes from an area richly decorated. In the excavated building only room 114 can reveal all these characteristics.

As already pointed out in this chapter, it is almost certain that none of the Hājīābād kneeling bulls come from the western half of room 114. Consequently, the eastern section of the room – between entrances b and j and entrance 113 – remains the only possible place where the bulls could be applied.

In Bīšāpūr the four bull protomes, still *in situ* at the time of Morier²², topped only one wall of the Temple, the better preserved northwestern one. It is possible that similar protomes were also placed on the other walls – now partly destroyed at this level – and that the correspondence of the numbers of the preserved bulls in both sites (Hājīābād and Bīšāpūr) is the result of a mere accident. However, this is highly unlikely. Moreover, no fragment of any additional bull was found by the excavators of the Bīšāpūr Temple. One may come to the conclusion, therefore, that in room 114 as well, the number of the bulls may have been limited to the four already found and that all four were placed at the summit or very high on the wall through which passage 113 is cut. Nevertheless, in room 114 none of the bulls (nos. 46, 48-49 and 51) could have been used in a position similar to the protomes in Bīšāpūr, which are all placed – if Morier's drawing is correct²³ – equidistant from each other and from the late-

ral walls. The animals of Bīšāpūr protrude from the wall, just like the similar works on the capitals of Persepolis. To be in this position, the zebus of room 114 would have had to be sculpted on both sides of the body. Furthermore, they are dissimilar from Bīšāpūr's bulls in yet another respect. Unlike the Bīšāpūr sitting animals, their heads were turned towards the only side of the body which is worked.

Apart from their symbolic and decorative value, the crouching bulls of the Temple in Bīšāpūr had a functional role as well. The special arrangement of the upper surface of the blocks in which they are cut reveals that they most probably supported the weight of some kind of roofing. R. Ghirshman was right when he said: «La question de la toiture n'est pas encore éclaircie définitivement. L'hypothèse d'une voûte doit être écartée pour deux raisons... Une autre hypothèse, celle selon laquelle le Temple avait eu un toit en bois serait plausible mais elle rencontre des difficultés techniques: il n'est pas aisé d'expliquer où et comment les architectes auraient pu se procu-

²¹ GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, p. 149, pls. 189-190.

²² According to Jacques Morier's drawing of the temple reproduced in SCHIPPMANN, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, pl. 19.

²³ In the French translation of Morier's work, in the part concerning the description of the temple of Bīšāpūr one reads: «Au sommet étaient placés deux sphinx couchés... Il y a dans ce mur une fenêtre, dont la partie d'en haut est ceintrée...» (J. MORIER, *Voyage en Perse*, 1, p. 130). The precision of the number of the kneeling bulls as two (deux) is most probably a mistake of the translator. In the English text, however, we read: «...At the top were placed sphinxes couchant... In this wall there is a window...» (quoted by SCHIPPMANN, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, p. 143). Although in Morier's English text the crouching bulls are not precisely numbered, his drawing, in contrast, clearly shows four blocks corresponding to those of the bulls on the summit of the wall. The drawings of Flandin and Coste show beyond doubt that Morier was right in putting four bulls above the wall. In their drawings, three of the four bulls are still *in situ* (FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, 1 [Pls. 1-56], pl. 47). The missing fourth bull is the one which on the Morier's drawing is on the right of the window's arch. It had obviously collapsed by the time that Flandin and Coste reached the site. Ghirshman was wrong in attributing two groups of two bulls to two walls, opposite to each other (SALLES et GHIRSHMAN, «Châpour, Rapport préliminaire», p. 119).

King of Kings²⁶. It is probably in this function that the bird decorates the royal garment²⁷, or crowns the kingly diadem²⁸. It also accompanies several divinities. Among others, its image with outspread wings is chiseled on either side of the powerful Asur-Bel (?)²⁹. As a symbol of divinity, the eagle's role was also to protect the god's sanctuary. Examples of the eagle in this role, corresponding to the Parthian and early Sasanian periods, are found in Palmyra³⁰ and Hatra³¹.

In this case the eagle (or eagles) with unfolded (outspread or just half-open) wings were chiseled on the stone blocks that stood above the entrance of the god's sanctuary – although in some cases the bird's image is found above niches³².

An example from Hatra was placed at the very end of the great south evān (A) of the Sun, above the entrance giving into the square sanctuary of Šamaš (C)³³, therefore outside the holy of holies. A graffito from a site near Palmyra demonstrates another example of this pattern. Here, two eagles frame the image of the Sun above the entrance of a temple inside which the god (perhaps Ba'alshamin) is enthroned³⁴.

Assuming that room 114 be comparable with room B in the Sun temple at Hatra, one could expect the upper façade of entrance 113 (from courtyard 107) to be the natural place for the eagles of Hajiabad. But, of the

²⁶ GHIRSHMAN, «Fouilles de Châpour», pp. 14-15.
²⁷ ANDRAE, *Hatra*, I, p. 22, figs. 35-36; 2, p. 159-160, 267.
²⁸ XENOPHON, *Cyropædia*, 2, VII, 1, 3-4.
²⁹ SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Orient hellénisé*, fig. 19.
³⁰ HOMÈS-FRÉDÉRICQ, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes*, p. 18, pl. V-2; COLLEDGE, *Parthian Art*, pl. 8d.
³¹ HOMÈS-FRÉDÉRICQ, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes*, pl. I, 2a-2b.
³² COLLEDGE, «Le Sanctuaire de Baalshemen», p. 54, plate pages 52-53. Id. et al., *Le Sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre*, I, pp. 163-164 and II, pl. XCVII, 1.
³³ INGHOIT, «Parthian Sculptures from Hatra», pp. 23-24.
³⁴ COLLEART, *Le Sanctuaire*, I, p. 164; II, pl. XCV, 1-2.
³⁵ ANDRAE, *Hatra*, I, pp. 19-20, pl. 32; INGHOIT, «Parthian Sculptures from Hatra», p. 24, pl. VI.3. For the plan of the temple see COLLEDGE, *Parthian Art*, fig. 19.
³⁶ COLLEDGE, *Art of Palmyra*, p. 49, fig. 30.

rer des poutres de plus de quinze mètres de long. La solution vers laquelle nous inclinons est celle d'un temple hypèthre, c'est-à-dire sans toit. Dans ce cas les protomes des tauraux auraient eu à supporter un auvent de la largeur du trottoir. Cette hypothèse donnerait également une raison d'être à ce système d'évacuation d'eau que nous venons de signaler...»²⁴.

In this case, however, only the northwest-ern sidewalk of the Temple could have been roofed; its wall superimposed by the bull protomes as consoles. As we shall see later in this discussion, there is reason to believe that the same system of partial covering may have been used in room 114 as well.

The covered part of room 114 in Hajiabad was, most probably, its eastern half, i.e. the area between openings b, j, and 113. In other words, the section of the room where the niches (c to i) were placed remained open. The width of room 114 being nearly one third of its counterpart in Bisāpur, there was no need for a console system to support this partial roof. Here the kneeling bulls were purely symbolic and decorative in function. Like those of the Temple at Bisāpur, however, they must also have been applied somewhere under the roofed area.

In their symbolic and decorative function, the bulls of room 114 have other precedents: Protomes of similar crouching bulls decorate the walls of a hall in the northernmost room complex of the main building group in the sanctuary of the Sun in Hatra²⁵. Considering that the zebus of room 114 were placed, as has already been suggested, in some corners of the room, the only corners under the roofed area in which they could have been fixed would be the northeastern and southeastern corners of L. 114. Placed probably back to back at a high point of the wall, the stucco zebus of L. 114 gave the impression of supporting the roof, like the consoles of Bisāpur.

Among the animals that had served as symbols of both divine and earthly might is the eagle. In the Iranian cultural realm we find it with unfurled wings atop a standard from Sādad. Its golden image, again with open wings, served as the insignia of the Achaemenid

two examples from this site, one (no. 42 of the catalogue, Fig. 130) was brought to the Museum before the excavation and the other one (Fig. 131, nos. 114-102-44, the body; and 1022-1[a-b]-60, the legs) was found inside room 114. If the latter example was not taken into room 114 by some intruders then it would be possible to suggest the interior, upper, façade of entrance 113 as the place on either side of which the two eagles were applied. After all, if we accept the suggestion that the function of the eagles from Hājīābād was the same as that from other sites, the outer façade of entrance 113 would be the most likely spot of the placement of the two objects.

The upper area of the façades of Qal'eh Zohāk, in Āzarbāijān, is decorated with a row of four niches on each side. The niches are built above two tiers of decorative stuccos and under the crenelations³⁵. This decorative pattern seems to have been widely employed in Sasanian architecture. On the besieged castle depicted on a silver plate of Hermitage Museum³⁶ and the building engraved on the bronze salver from Staatliche Museum of Berlin³⁷ the uninterrupted row of niches (or small blind arcades) are separated from the battlements only by one band of simple decorative motif, such as a diagonal brick dental. In the Čahār-Tāq of Tall'i Djangī³⁸, probably a Sasanian monument, and in the Mausoleum of Ismāil in Bokārā³⁹, an Islamic building which is strikingly similar to the monument on the plate of the Berlin Museum⁴⁰, a line of niches is situated in a position that closely corresponds to that of other examples just discussed.

These niches are all part of the external decorative organization of the building. Another example of this pattern, nevertheless, gives the impression that it could have been used as part of the internal decorative pattern as well. The abacus of the late Sasanian capitals from Bīstūn⁴¹, is decorated with a row of small, blind arcades. The capital could only have been employed inside a roofed area or a portico.

The decorative keyhole arches above the southern gate of Takt-e Soleymān⁴² are probably the closest in form to no. 40 (nude child in the nich, Pl. XXIV and Fig. 123) and its

replicas. The niches of Takt-e Soleymān are chiseled in an area high on the wall, midway between the apex of the arch of the gate and the top of the wall. This position corresponds to my suggestion about the place where no. 40 and the counterparts were applied (Fig. 155).

The continuous, small, blind arcades on the Parthian and the Sasanian monuments mentioned above are empty, and unlike no. 40, do not contain any statues. Considering, nevertheless, that at least as many as 20 examples of no. 40 had been employed in the decoration of room 114, we have no other choice but to admit that they had been organized in a manner similar to the keyhole arcades or niches on the above-mentioned Sasanian capital of Bīstūn or the wall of Takt-e Soleymān.

Another question remains to be answered here. Did these niches run along the entire length of the four walls of room 114? There are two reasons which militate for a negative answer.

a - I suggested, while discussing the problems of the consoles (crouching zebus; nos. 43-51, Figs. 132-137) that they had to be placed under the partial roof of the eastern half of the room. If the small niches run continuously along the four walls of the room, the consoles interrupt the harmonious succession of the niches.

b - The total number of examples, or pieces referring to the existence of such an example, accounts for the presence of at least 20 of them; namely 5 examples per wall of 3.70 m long. There would be, if we maintain this suggestion, one nich every 74 cm of the

³⁵ KLEISS, «Qal'eh Zohak in Azerbaidjan», figs. 4, 6-7, pl. 41.

³⁶ REUTHER, «Sasanian Architecture», 1, fig. 149 and 4, pl. 233B.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, 1, figs. 160-1, 161 and 4, pl. 237.

³⁸ VANDEN BERGHE, «Monuments sassanides dans le Fārs», pp. 182-184, pl. XXXIb.

³⁹ SCHROEDER, «Islamic Architecture: C. First Period», 2, pp. 945-946, figs. 324 a-d and 4, pl. 264 A-B.

⁴⁰ REUTHER, «Sasanian Architecture», fig. 161.

⁴¹ FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, 1 (Pls. 1-56), pl. 17 bis.

⁴² HERRMANN, *Iranian Revival*, pp. 114-115.

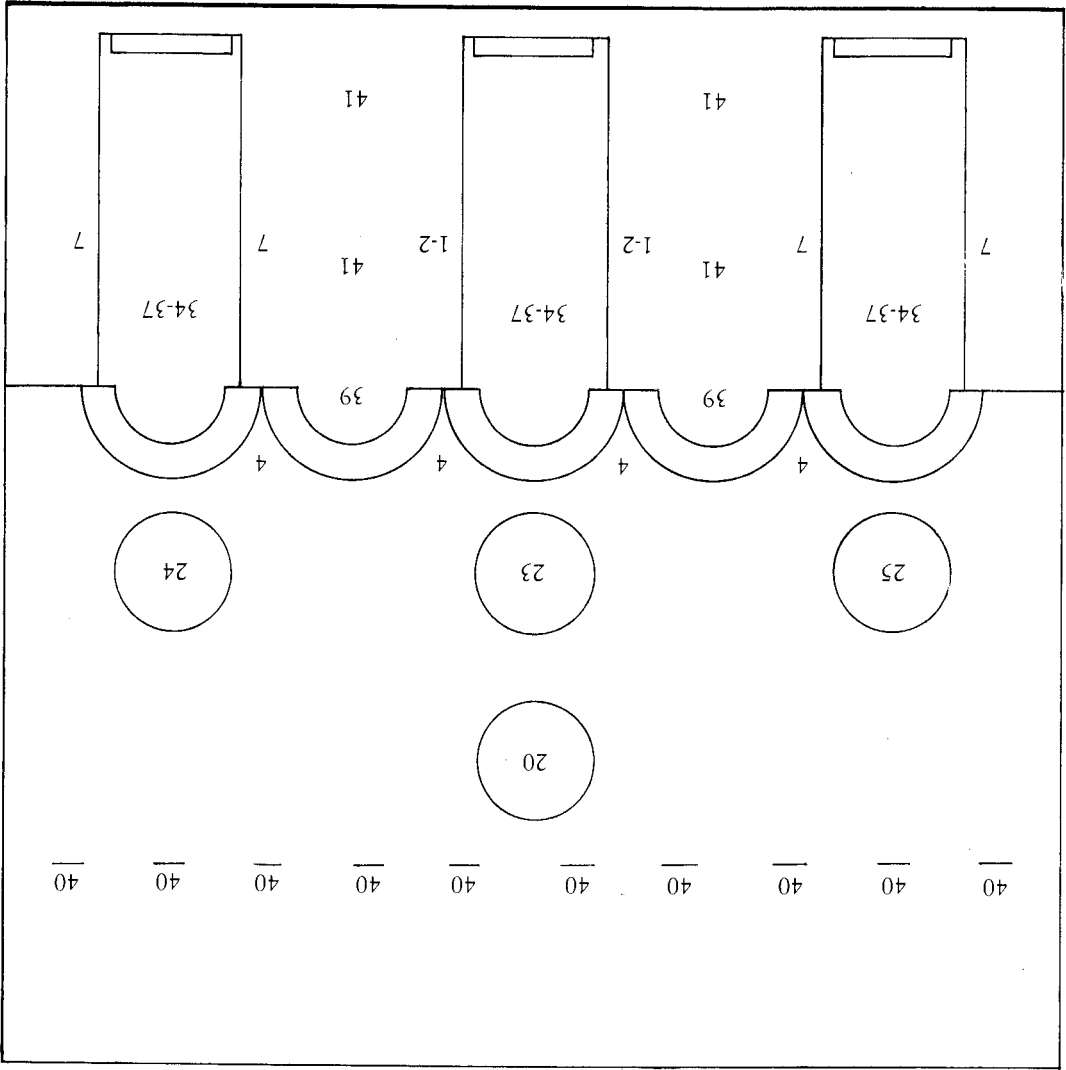


Fig. 155 - Tentative reconstruction of the decorative composition of the western wall (L. 133) of L. 114.

walls' length. Although this is not impossible, the wide distance between each pair of niches dissipates the very effect expected from the close arrangement and uninterrupted succession of the examples, as observed on the said Sasanian monuments decorated with such motifs.

Two solutions can be proposed for this problem: we saw that in the above-mentioned monuments, blind arcades were usually placed a short distance down from the top of the wall. Sometimes another decorative band separated the niches from the top of the façade. It would not be unjustified, then, to suggest that in room 114 the niches may have been applied in a register directly below that of the zebu consoles.

Assuming that the statuettes inside the decorative niches had direct links with the other religious symbols of room 114, and especially the statues inside the larger niches along three of the room's walls (c, d, e, f, g, h, and i), one may suggest that only those areas of the walls above these larger niches were provided with such a motif. We may expect, therefore, that the western wall of the room (housing niches e, f, and g) had received 10 of the small niches, and each of the lateral walls (with niches e and d - h and i) 5 of them - provided of course that the 20 so far recognized specimens are all that existed. If so, the distance between each niche would be about 10 cm, narrow enough to create the impression of continuity of the motif.

The remaining field between the moldings of the larger niches of the room and the smaller niches (or blind arcades) near the wall's rim must have been occupied by two rows of busts.

Royal bust no. 20 (Pl. XVIII and Figs. 89-91) was discovered inside L. 114, near the western wall (L. 133) and must have been applied on this wall. Of the two remaining similar busts (represented by nos. 114-84-31 and S-67-62) one must have been applied on the northern (L. 118) and the other on the southern (unlabeled) wall.

These royal busts, naturally, must have occupied the higher place (Fig. 155). This is also demonstrated by the fact that no. 20 and the other two pieces show many effects of weathering, a consequence of being more exposed in their high position. The results of this weathering can be seen not only in their eroded form (especially on no. 20) but in their deep, yellowish color as well.

Busts nos. 23 (Pl. XV and Figs. 95-97), 24 (Pls. XI, XVI and Fig. 98), and 25 (Pl. XII and Figs. 99-101) were also discovered alongside the western wall of room 114 (L. 133), running from north to south respectively. No. 24, the middle one, was uncovered side by side with royal bust no. 20, both more or less in front of niche f. It is possible, therefore, that each of these three busts corresponded to one of the niches of wall 133 (e-g) and were applied above them. The royal bust, however, may have been applied on the axis of the middle niche (f) and, as previously said, on a higher place.

It is likely that this arrangement of the busts represents the order of importance of the nobles under the King of Kings. If so, no. 24 must have been the highest in rank among the three belonging to wall 133.

Bust no. 21 (Pl. IX and Figs. 92-94) was found in the southwestern quarter of L. 114, closer to niche h than to i, and a second example of the same bust (no. 114-99-40) on the opposite side of the room, between niches d and c.

No. 22 (Pls. X, XIII-XIV) was uncovered in the northeastern quarter of room 114, not far from the room's center, i.e. in front of niche c.

Following the pattern proposed in the case

of the busts belonging to niches e-g, I should suggest that here as well, each bust must have been applied above one niche. No. 21 and its counterpart probably corresponded to niches h and d. Bust no. 22, however, must have been applied above niche c.

Unfortunately the bust related to niche i seems to be missing. No other stucco piece which could be interpreted as a bust of a bearded male of this scale has been found. Different reasons may have been responsible for this absence. The most likely reason is that the stucco was destroyed by the bulldozer along with the southeastern quarter of room 114.

All together, six replicas of the nude female statuette no. 39 (Pls. XXII-XXIII and Figs. 120-122) have been found and all come from room 114. Two of these were found approximately on either side of niche c, facing bands 5 and 6. One comes from the north of niche f, more or less in front of band 11. A fourth copy was found in front of niche i, about a meter from the center of the room. The other two specimens were too fragmentary and too scattered in pieces to be assignable to any fixed point.

Not only because of the position in which these four replicas were found, but also because of their corresponding numbers, they can be attributed to niches c, f, and i.

These statuettes may, thus, have been fixed on the plain field between the lateral floral bands of the above-mentioned niches and the swastika band framing the other niches, i.e. above the lion heads.

No. 26 (under medium-sized bust, Fig. 102) and 38 (small-scale dressed female, Pl. XXI and Fig. 119), together with a fragmentary replica of the latter (no. S-17-23) were found before the excavation began. Bust no. 26, we should remember, was fixed by a villager to the wall of his house. Statuette no. 38 was brought to Tehran Museum after the site was bulldozed, while I myself found no. S-17-23 at the site. The fact that none of these were uncovered inside the preserved portion of room 114 suggests that they must have been part of the decoration of courtyard 107, entrance 113, or the southeastern quarter of room 114; in other words, that area of the

tion for this specimen – in the context of room 104 or even the entire excavated section of the building – is hardly admissible. Though this motif was occasionally used in decorating things other than door frames (for example overlapping petals decorate the stonework around a spring in Bīṣāpur⁴³) its use as doorway frame decoration is definitely more widespread.

It is highly probable that object no. 10 of the catalogue (drooping-leaf and astragals [Figs. 71-72]) also belonged to that door molding of which no. 9 (Fig. 70) was part. In that case no. 10 must almost certainly have been placed at one end of the register. If so, another section very similar to no. 10 (or the listel and astragals only) should have existed in order to close the row of the drooping leaves from the other side. The total length of these three together (536 mm) would be approximately equivalent to the width of one of the narrow doorways (L. 219 and 220) leading into room 104. Although this helps to establish the function of objects nos. 9 and 10, the exact doorway above which this element may have been fixed remains uncertain.

The fact that we found the major portion of the upright petals near the center of room 104 creates an additional problem. The question is: were these drooping leaves part of the decorative pattern of room 104?

Although the hall in Bīṣāpur, which corresponds to room 104 of Hājīābad, was decorated in a similar manner exists. The northwestern corner of room 104 is totally destroyed, nevertheless the remaining walls are sufficiently «well» preserved (to a height of 40 cm or so) to protect the fallen stuccos, provided of course they did exist; while, aside from a few pieces uncovered here in the center and one replica of no. 40 (small-scale nude child, dis-

⁴³ For example in the Palace of Darius: SCHMIDT, *Persopolis*, I, figs. 27, 62, 91 A-B and especially plate 128B.
⁴⁴ For example in Ardašīr's greater palace: FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, I (Pls. 1-56), pls. 41-42; REUTHER, «Sasanian Architecture», fig. 127 and 4, pl. 146B.
⁴⁵ FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, I (Pls. 1-56), pl. 46.

room which was totally ruined by the bulldozer.

Since nos. 38 and S-17-23 form a pair, they could have been fixed on either side of an entrance, presaging what the person who intends to enter this area was to encounter in it. These statues may therefore have been fixed above L. 113, main entrance to L. 114.

Unfortunately I had no opportunity to work on bust no. 26, nor could I observe it in detail. Aside from a photograph taken on the spot during my first visit at the site (Fig. 102), no other document concerning this object is available. If this bust represents a divinity – an attribution that seems doubtful – it could have been used as part of a panel above entrance 113 (from the outside). Such a panel could have been organized like that above the entrance of the sanctuary of the Sun at Hatra. If so, the bust should have been fixed in the middle, flanked by the two clad statues (no. 38 of the catalogue and its replica). This composition, in turn could have been framed by the two eagles with unfolded wings (no. 42 of the catalogue and its replica, Figs. 130-131). No. 27 (small-sized head, Figs. 103-105) was found inside L. 114 not far from the undisturbed section of the room. It is therefore highly probable that this head (or the bust?) was fixed inside the area. Unfortunately, I can find no place for it among the decorative elements of room 114 – at least not in the pattern in which I have so far suggested they were organized. The main difficulty, for the time being, is that no plausible function for this head can be proposed, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence. It could well be a nobleman, a priest or a divine being – though these suggestions are strictly conjectural.

No. 3 (floral decorative plaque, Fig. 63) and 9 (drooping leaves, Fig. 70) were found in the southwestern part of room 104, close to the center. No. 9 is obviously a sort of concave cornice with upright petals or flutings used to decorate the upper part of certain door frames of palatial and residential buildings both in Achaemenid⁴³ and Sasanian⁴⁴ periods. In Hājīābad this element is simplified; i.e. in both cases mentioned above there are three overlapping registers of such motifs above each door frame. Nevertheless any different func-

covered leaning upright to the angle of wall 118 and opening 220) nothing was found inside room 104 to hint at its eventual stucco decoration. It is highly likely, however, that the replica of no. 40 had been brought there by some intruders, or had reached the place quite accidentally through doorway 220 when a wall of room 114 collapsed.

The object under discussion (no. 9) was discovered at a point far from the two doorways and out of their axes. This may hint at the possibility that, although no. 9 was probably intended to be fixed above one of the two doorways (L. 219 or 220), it was not yet actually fixed on the chosen place when the building was abandoned or destroyed.

With respect to objects 9 and 10 there is yet another problem that should be addressed. As has already been mentioned in this chapter, these decorative elements could have been used either to frame an arched niche or doorway, as in the Sasanian monuments of Qal'a-ye Doktar and Firūzābād, or, in the absence of an arch, to decorate the lintel of the doorway, in the same manner as in Persepolis.

For the following reasons, however, I suggest that items 9 and 10 from Hājīābād functioned more like those from Qal'a-ye Doktar and Firūzābād than those of Persepolis. First, Hājīābād is chronologically closer to the earlier sites, and then, as we saw in the case of the decorative pattern of courtyard 178, when a motif is used as a lintel, it forms a block of some considerable thickness. Object no. 7, which roofed niches around the above-mentioned courtyard, for example, was applied onto a block 20 cm thick. The fact that objects 9 and 10 are thin plaques, therefore,

shows that they were intended to be applied onto walls rather than to cover the doorway span.

Object no. 3, a band of equal width, may also have been intended for a similar function. This object either was not found near any of the doorways of L. 104 but close to the center of the room, next to no. 9. This may hint at the common fate of both no. 3 and no. 9. Neither of them had probably been fixed in its proper place at the time the building or decorating process came to an abrupt end.

Although the choice of doorways above which these decorative bands could be placed is quite limited (we are sure of only two doorways: i.e. L. 219 and 220) it is hard to decide which band belonged to which doorway.

It is also difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to say whether – in the Iranian cultural realm – the motif of the overlapping petals bore any symbolism. Its use in the decoration of the worked stone around the above-mentioned Bīšāpūr spring, however, hints at this possibility. It is likely that the choice of the motif to decorate the spring's frame was not merely accidental but somehow this decorative pattern was considered fit for this purpose. If so, because of the evident relationship between the cult of Anāhītā and water, it becomes conceivable that this motif was used in room 104 too for the decoration of doorway 220 (which leads to the cult place of Anāhītā) rather than doorway 219. In this case, the floral decorative plaque no. 3 would have been part of L. 219, provided of course no other doorway of this width (ca. 50 cm) gave onto the room.

4 - TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS

During the long history of stucco decoration in Iran, three different techniques were employed. One was carved stucco, in which the surface of the wall was first covered with several layers of stucco plaster. The last of these layers was of fine, sifted gypsum. The detailed pattern of the decoration was drawn on this smooth surface and was carved by means of a range of sharp tools.

In the second or casting technique rectangular, square, or round plaques of stucco were separately molded and fixed progressively on the wall.

In the third method, the applied technique, the stucco decoration was also carved, as in the first technique. Unlike this first technique, however, the stucco was cut, not on the wide surface of the wall, but on prefabricated

to two busts only, nos. 18-19 of the catalogue. These are also the only stuccos from the assemblage to have been worked out in a carved technique. Technical examination is particularly easier on no. 18 because it is broken in several pieces. It appears in this case that the artist had first shaped an original, rough nucleus which in turn was covered with a thick layer of very fine plaster. Meticulous details are fashioned in this layer. The fact that part of the preserved portion of the man's neck-lace is separated from the bust may hint to yet another possibility. That is to say, it is probable that this final coat in which the details are cut, was not entirely carved but was partially applied.

All the other busts of this assemblage, including the royal one (No. 17), have been cast. No. 17 must have been composed at least of two sections; the bust itself as it is preserved, and the lost striated globe of its crown.

The shallowness of stucco no. 17 together with the lack of sharpness of its lines, suggest that the artist had not yet had the opportunity to work further on its details, i.e. tooling the lines and deepening its relief. No. 17, therefore, is a cast bust as it came out of the mold.

Among the medium-sized busts, the three royal ones (catalogue nos. 20, 114-84-31, and S-67-32), and two of the hatted man (catalogue nos. 21, and 114-99-40) are, respectively, replicas of one original and are, therefore, similar. The first three, like the large-

⁴⁶ This and other information on the technical aspects of stucco decoration are from the following works: WULF, *Traditional Crafts of Persia*, pp. 133-135; KRÖGER, «Stucco», p. 103 and Id., *Sasanischer Stuckdekoration*, pp. 209-213.

⁴⁷ There are two reasons for this suggestion: on the one hand we found many individual astragals among the stucco pieces and on the other hand those astragals still *in situ* do not run numerically parallel to each other on both sides of any given decorative plaque. I suggest that we found them separately from each other (as well as from the other decorative elements) because they have been separately shaped and then applied on either side of the plaques. Moreover, if they were carved or cast together with the remaining part of each decorative plaque, they had a better chance to be more regularly spaced and have corresponding numbers of astragals on either side of a decorative element.

Each of these three techniques had its own advantages and disadvantages. The casting technique, for example, could hasten the process of decoration with repetitive scenes, while it had the limitation of being monotonous. Moreover, it was not flexible; in other words, when the area of the chosen surface measured more (or less) than that of a prefabricated plaque, it was necessary to cut the plaque and adapt it to the size of the available area. The applied technique, on the other hand, could more easily be adapted to special requirements such as the size of the area of the particularities (concave, convex) of its surface.

Not all three techniques enjoyed equivalent importance at any given period of the history of stucco decoration. During the Sasanian period the applied and the casting techniques were those mainly employed while carved stucco played a secondary role.

In Hājīābād only in one or two cases carved stucco was used. Casting and applied techniques were mainly used – in various proportions – both in the ornamental and figural themes. In ornamental works, nevertheless, the casting technique is dominant. The large plaques of courtyard 178, represented in the catalogue under no. 8 (decorative plaque composed of a plain slab and a row of half cylinders), were monolithic cast pieces. No. 7 (decorative block composed of astragals and swastikas) on the other hand may be considered as a composite of the two techniques. While the large, central part (swastikas) is a cast plaque, the astragals are individually and separately cast or carved and then applied on the margins of the swastika plaques⁴⁷. The swastika decorative bands of room 114 are built in the same way. Floral bands and arched-tectonic elements (catalogue nos. 1-6, and 9-16), however, appear to have been composed of cast elements only.

It has been observed in other Sasanian sites that the applied technique had especially been used in large-scale statues. Hājīābād, however, seems to offer a somewhat different picture. In this site the figural objects can be divided into two groups: repetitive and unique objects.

The unique figural stucco works are limited

scale royal bust (catalogue no. 17), appear to have been molded in two pieces; the bust itself and the striated globe. The latter element, in three dimensions, had been fixed on the crown by means of a wooden (?) bar. Upon the crown, as well as on the bottom of the globe, a hole recalls the once existing wooden (?) bar.

The busts of the man with a hat, however, are shaped, as already mentioned, in the same mold as the remaining medium-sized busts (catalogue nos. 22-25).

Although each of these now has its own characteristics – which make it distinguishable from the others – their nucleus remains identical. This core comprises the upper part of the breast, the shoulders, the neck, face, and the two bunches of hair hanging on either side of the head. The particularities of each bust are composed of added elements, such as the hat of no. 21, the horns of the diadem of no. 23, and so on. In this respect, therefore, the medium-sized busts are a composition of the cast, as well as the applied techniques.

The process of adding complementary elements may have been accomplished in several stages. On no. 21's hat, for example the emblem had certainly been attached to the hat probably after it was formed or fixed on the man's head. Minor details, such as the decorations on the vertical ornamental bands of the men's garments, are cut with sharp tools after the casting process was accomplished and the bust was half-dried.

Although the missing head of no. 38 (statuette of a woman) makes it difficult to judge, it appears that this statuette is an entirely molded piece. The nude female statuettes (catalogue no. 39 and its replicas), on the other hand, seem to have had some parts added, notably the hands. Their hair globes and heads, in contrast with the royal busts, may have been of one piece. This suggestion is made in spite of the presence of a hole in both the globes and the tops of the heads. These holes had, almost certainly, been the place of a bar which, at least in the case of royal bust 20, served as a grip to fasten the globe to the rest of the hairdress.

The three heart-shaped ornaments on the

head of the nude child (catalogue no. 40) are also added pieces.

The discovery of several corresponding parts of the statues inside niches around L. 114 proves that even these relatively large-scale works had been molded. Unlike the statuettes, the main bodies of which were cast in one piece, the niche statues are composed of several cast parts more or less corresponding to the objects described in the catalogue under nos. 34-37. To these must be added the lower legs and the feet (still *in situ*). Whether the hair globe (described in no. 34) was also an applied part or was made as one piece with the head, is unfortunately not known. Each statue, therefore, comprised, at least, five parts:

- the head and the hair-globe;
- the trunk;
- the thighs and legs;
- the ankles and feet;
- the two arms and hands.

Among the animals, the head, horns, and ears (catalogue nos. 43-45) of the zebus (catalogue nos. 46-51) must have been separately shaped and added to the cast body of the beast; otherwise all the others (lion heads, catalogue no. 41; eagles, catalogue no. 42, and the fantastic being, catalogue no. 52) seem to have been molded in one piece. None of the corresponding examples of any given animals – among the ones mentioned above – resembles in any aspects another one of its group. The details being tooled after the objects had come out of the molds, each one of these exhibits marked differences.

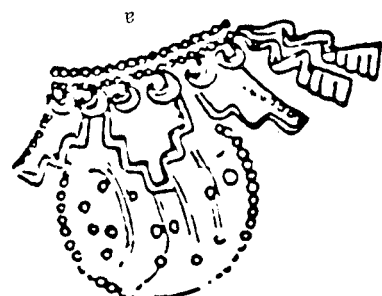
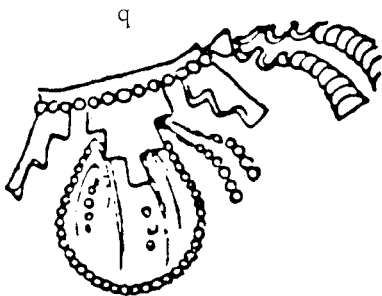
One more point which may be of interest is that the artist apparently drew all the details of his work before he actually began to cut. A small piece of gypsum (1041-2 from square R 10), with six dark points on its smooth surface, may have been the original pattern of the details of one of the three vertical decorative bands on the medium-sized busts.

Numerous iron nails found in courtyard 178, area 114, and room 208, along the walls or mixed with stuccos, suggest that they were probably used to reinforce the adherence of stucco elements or heavy plaster coatings onto the walls.

5 - THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SOME INDIVIDUAL STUCCO OBJECTS

busts), these individual elements together present a typical example of a bipartite crown; i.e., the first group of the Sasanian crowns⁵⁰. Among the first eleven Sasanian kings (Ardašir I-Sapur III; 224-388 A.D.) who bore crowns of this group, only two had mural crowns. These were Sapur I and Sapur II⁵¹. The two crenelated crowns of Sapur II (Fig. 156 a-b) are characterized, and thus distinguishable from those of Sapur I, by two additional features:

– Sapur II's earlier crown (Fig. 156,a) has a



1. *Objects nos. 17 and 20* (Pls. VII, XVIII and Figs. 80-81, 89-91)

Each Sasanian king had a distinguishing crown⁵². This helps us to establish, with relative ease, the identity of the crowned personage whose busts are found in Hājīābād. The crown of the better preserved of the two objects under discussion, no. 17 (Pl. VII and Figs. 80-81), is composed of the following elements:

- a - a striated body which is in all probability the surviving part of a globe, a characteristic element of the Sasanian crown⁵³;
- b - a full-sized, four-stepped merlon on the front part, and remains of two half ones, one on either side of the crown;
- c - a row of crenelles right under the crenellations;
- d - a flat diadem ending on either side in a fan-shaped motif.

The crown of the other bust, no. 20 (Pl. XVIII and Figs. 89-91) is composed of:

- a - a well-preserved striated globe;
- b - part of half a crenellation (?) on the left side of the Crown;
- c - a row of crenelles right under the crenellations;
- d - part of a flat diadem ending in a flat, fan-shaped motif on the right side;
- e - two slightly undulating ribbons streaming out from beneath the fan-shaped feature.

Apart from the hair curls (common in both

row of crenelles spreading upward from the upper edge of the diadem;

– his later crown (Fig. 156,b) has a row of round beads, again on the upper edge of the diadem.

Thanks to the crenelles of the two crowns under study (wholly preserved on no. 17 and partially preserved on no. 20) the identification of the busts becomes an easy task. The crowns are identical to the crown type of Sapur II. The two busts, therefore, are of Sapur II (A.D. 309-379).

There are, nevertheless, minor differences between the crowns of these busts (nos. 17 and 20) and the crowns of the coin effigies.

⁴⁸ ERDMANN, «Entwicklung der sasanidischen Krone», p. 87, note 1.
⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 92 and especially note 17; AZARPAY, «Crowns and some Royal Insignia in Early Iran», p. 114.
⁵⁰ ERDMANN, «Entwicklung der sasanidischen Krone», p. 100.
⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 95, 99.

These differences consist in the number of steps of the merlons (three in coins and four in the busts) as well as the absence, on coins, of decorative elements on the vertical axis of the front merlon and the diadem. These, however, seem to be insignificant details. The crown of the king on an equestrian scene at Naqš-e Rostam, for example, appears to have a four-stepped merlon⁵². Furthermore, gems or decorative elements similar – though not identical – to those of no. 20 can be found on the crowns of Šāpūr II on one or another silver plate⁵³.

We may, therefore, conclude that the two busts depict Šāpūr II (A.D. 300-379).

The royal crown shown on the busts under study resembles that worn by Šāpūr II in the first period of his reign (Fig. 156,a). Later issues of his coinage show another type on which the curlicues on the diadem's upper edge are replaced by round beads⁵⁴. Exactly when this change took place is not known.

2. Objects no. 18 and 19 (Pl. VIII and Figs. 82-83, 86)

The main subject among the stucco busts of Hājīābād may in fact have been, not that of Šāpūr II, but the two busts of the façade of eyvān 149 (catalogue nos. 18-19). Not only are these (together with no. 17) the largest ones but, even including the royal busts, they are by far the finest of all. These two are worked out in applied technique, while all the others (including again the royal busts) are cast works, and therefore cheaper productions.

Unfortunately we cannot identify the two personages by their name or rank. They wear no crown; hence it can be admitted that they were almost certainly not Sasanian Kings of Kings. Their diadems are not of elaborate types either, thus they can hardly be subject kings under the Sasanians either. Their dominant position on either side of the apparently most conspicuous area of the building may, on the other hand, hint at their identity as the masters of the Manor House.

Bust 18 (Pl. VIII and Figs. 82-83), however, appears to have been the most important of the two. He is shown frontally, a sign of

authority and dominance, while the other one (no. 19, Fig. 86), may have been in three-quarter view, looking towards bust 18, thus expressing his respect for him.

For these reasons, however, I tentatively suggest that the unknown personage shown by bust 18, may have been the owner of the excavated building and that no. 19, may have been a close relative of his, perhaps his son and heir.

3. Object no. 21 (Pl. IX and Figs. 92-93)

The headgear of this man is an obvious mark of his distinctive rank. «...Being graced with the distinction of the turban (was) an honor shared by those who sat at the royal table and allowing men of merit among the Persians to speak words of advice and to vote in the assemblies»⁵⁵. Moreover, no. 21 wears a heraldic emblem on his hat. Similar tokens are found both on Sasanian seals and on the helmets of personages of Sasanian rock reliefs. The problem, however, is that no record of these emblems is available and it is not known whether the Sasanians kept a list of them. A study of seals and seal impressions added to the information provided by the reliefs has so far enabled scholars to identify the owners of some of the crests and devices. Among the Iranian personalities of the highest rank, for example, the emblems of Ardavān V, Ardašīr I, Kartīr⁵⁶, and Bahrām Kermānšāh are known⁵⁷.

⁵² SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, III, p. 136, pl. 95.

⁵³ HARPER and MEYERS, *Silver Vessels*, pp. 61-63, 81 and pls. 15, 28.

⁵⁴ HERZFELD, «Khusrau Parwēz und der Tāq-i Vastān», pl. IV: 5, Šāpūr's early crown and 6, Šāpūr's later crown; ERDMANN, «Entwicklung der sāsānidischen Krone», p. 99, fig. 1, Šāpouhr II a-b.

⁵⁵ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, 1, XVIII, 5, 6. See also LUKONIN, «Political, Social and Administrative Institutions, Taxes and Trades», p. 708. I think, nevertheless, that the word «turban» used by Rolfe to translate «apicis» is not expressive enough. A better translation would probably be «tiara». See «apex» in F. GAFFIOT, *Dictionnaire illustré Latin-Français* (Paris, Hachette, 1934).

⁵⁶ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, III, table V 1a-b, 2a, 11a.

⁵⁷ HERZFELD, *Paikuli*, I, p. 78.

(due to the importance of the events depicted here) as one of these two sons of Šapur, I would rather be inclined to see him as Ardašīr (later Ardašīr II).

I would like to emphasize, once more, the purely hypothetical nature of these identifications. Until further proof can be made available, therefore, no preference can be given to one or another of those two identifications. The two foregoing suggestions, however, cannot repudiate new tentative interpretations either.

4. *Object no. 23* (Pl. XV and Figs. 95-96)

The diadem of this bust, with its three sets of a pair of ram (?) horns, each surmounted by a globe, provides us with the best means of identifying this prince.

Each of the three sets of horns and globes of this bust is identical to similar features which adorn the crown of a hunting personage on a silver plate from the Hermitage Museum. «The figure of the hunter», in this plate, «is in pure profile to the right. The ram's horns rising from the head are turned full-front so that they form balanced arches. Above and between them is a finely striated globe»⁵⁹. Numismatics has enabled the identification of the hunter on this silver as Bahram Kušanšāh⁶⁰. This personage, shown on some of the Kušanō-Sasanian coins, wears a crown adorned with almost the same regalia as does the one of the silver plate. In some numismatic studies, however, this person-

Unlike Bahram Kušanšāh's case, no inscribed seal or seal impression with a device identical to the one on no. 21's bonnet has yet been discovered, and the crest does not appear on any of the Sasanian reliefs either. Therefore, there is no direct way to identify him.

Among the Sasanian insignia, however, the closest to the emblem of bust 21 is that of a Magus called «Ohrmazd, son of Mihr»⁶¹. This device consists of the crest of 21's hat, topped by a crescent on a stand. The man represented by bust no. 21, however, must have had a very important position in Šapur's court since, in L. 114, he is represented by two busts (catalogue no. 21 and 114-99-40) and not one, like the other grantees. Nos. 27 and 28 (two male personages with hat) may equally represent him. The stucco bust of the man with a hat could depict, for example, Šapur's heir, Grand Vistier, or Grand Mobed.

Artupad and Bahak were the supreme high-priests at the time of Šapur II⁶². In addition to his sacerdotal position, the former supposedly also held the highest administrative rank in Šapur's court. This combination of priestly and administrative duties makes Artupad a likely candidate for identification of the bust under discussion.

A different identification is nevertheless possible. On the Bisapur VI relief, attributed to Šapur II, among the personages present on either side of the king, two wear hats similar to that of the bust under investigation. These two personages are closest to the king. The one on his (upper register) left hand side heads the group of the courtiers. The other leads the group of soldiers (upper register) who bring on the king's left, the war prisoners to Šapur's presence⁶³.

While the personage on Šapur's right side may or may not be an ecclesiastic, the one on the king's left, leading the procession is most probably a secular, military leader.

Two of the sons of Šapur II, Narseh (presumably later Šapur III) and Ardašīr (presumably later Ardašīr II) were probably involved in the wars in Armenia⁶⁴. If, however, Azarpay is right in her interpretation of Bisapur VI as a «record of Armeno-Persian relations in 370-371»⁶⁵, and if the man leading the military procession in this relief can be identified

⁵⁸ GIGNOUX, «Intailles sassanides de la collection Pi-rouan», p. 17, impression 2.4.
⁵⁹ *Bundahis*, ch. XXXIII, 1-3, in WEST, *Pahlavi Texts*, 1, pp. 145-146; *Dādistān-i Dīnik*, ch. XXXVII, 36 in Id., *Pahlavi Texts*, 2, p. 91.
⁶⁰ AZARPAY, «Bishapur VI», figs. 1-2, 9.
⁶¹ M. AZARNOUSH, «Šapur II, Ardašīr II, and Šapur III; Another Perspective», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 19 (1986), pp. 219-247.
⁶² AZARPAY, «Bishapur VI», p. 188.
⁶³ HARPER, *Silver Vessels*, 1, 73.
⁶⁴ First established by SMIRNOV, «Bibliographical Notice», p. 678; HERZFELD, «Kushano-Sasanian Coins», pp. 22-23.

age is called Bahrām I⁶⁵ and in others, Bahrām II⁶⁶.

This identification is not without problem, nonetheless. On the coins and the silver plate, the crown is composed of one pair of large, curved ram horns surmounted by a globe or a lotus, while this emblem, much reduced in size, is repeated three times on the diadem of the bust.

Although it is possible that the resemblance between the crown of Bahrām II Kūšānšāh and the emblems on the bust is fortuitous, I suggest, for the reasons discussed below, that the similarity is significant and that bust 23 can be identified as this prince.

- 1 - The globe between the two horns of the crown of Bahrām Kūšānšāh on his silver plate is a Sasanian royal emblem⁶⁷. The presence of the globe in a similar position, i.e. between the two horns, on the emblems on the diadem of bust no. 23 most probably reflects the royal rank of the person shown by this bust.
- 2 - The depiction of a Sasanian royal personage with only a diadem, and not with his complete crown, is not without precedent. A remarkable gem which shows a figure wearing a diadem decorated with gadroons similar, but not identical, to those of the crowns of Narseh, king of kings, and Peroz I and II Kūšānšāhs, and lacking the globe of the crowns of any of these three kings, is suggested to depict a Sasanian king of the fourth century A.D.⁶⁸.
- 3 - Three identical emblems, one frontal and two lateral, characterize many Kūšān diadems. One example is shown on a Kūšāno-Sasanian gem depicting a figure wearing a wide diadem with three identical floral elements. The Bactrian legend of the gem identifies the figure as Bahrām, with the title Šāhrah, i.e. Satrap. R. Göbl suggests that this person may be identified as one of several Bahrāms known from Kūšāno-Sasanian coins and dates the gem to the second half of the fourth century A.D.⁶⁹. Another Bahrām, again thought to be a Kūšāno-Sasanian governor, is carved on another gem. This figure also wears a diadem with three identical emblems placed like those on the preced-

ing gem and bust 23⁷⁰.

Bust 23, then, may be a high ranking prince linked with the northeast Sasanian empire. In addition, the similarity between the emblems on the diadem of bust 23 and the crown of Bahrām Kūšānšāh strongly suggests that this personage from the northeast may in fact have been Bahrām II Kūšānšāh. For further discussion about this bust, see chapter VI.

5. Objects no. 34-39

(Pls. XIX-XXIII and Figs. 113-122)

The busts so far discussed share two common aspects: they represent mortals and are male personages, Šāpūr II, Bahrām Kūšānšāh, and so on. The statues and the statuettes on the other hand, constitute a totally different group. For reasons that will be discussed below, however, I suggest that this group is representative of a divine being (or of divine beings) and had cult purposes.

While a prominent character like Šāpūr II is represented through busts only, nos. 34-37 (together with some other elements still *in situ* form a body in its full length (No. 38 being merely a miniature rendition of the same body). Moreover, not only were all the statues under a cupola or in a niche, but they were all placed on pedestals, something which is especially noteworthy. Under the cupola and on the pedestal, they appear as the statues of a goddess in her temple.

⁶⁵ HERZFELD, «Kushano-Sasanian Coins», pp. 22-23; BRUNNER, «Chronology of the Sasanian Kūšānšāhs», p. 154.

⁶⁶ LUKONIN, *Kultura Sasanidskogo*, pp. 233-234; BIVAR, «Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Governors», p. 321.

⁶⁷ See in chapter IV the discussion concerning busts 17 and 20. On Kūšān coins, the Sasanian *corymbos* is sometimes replaced by an artichoke flower head: GÖBL, *System und Chronologie*, table VI; CARTER, «A Numismatic Reconstruction of Kushano-Sasanian History», table 1.

⁶⁸ CURIEL and SEYRIG, «Une intaille iranienne», pp. 55-59.

⁶⁹ GÖBL, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 1, pp. 228-229; 3, pls. 85, 10; 4, pls. 3-4, 56.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 1, pp. 229-230; 3, pl. 85, 11; 4, pls. 4, 59.

though not as frequent as the nude types, were not rare either. One interesting specimen of this type is the cult image of the goddess found in the Temple of Istar of Agade in Babylon⁷⁶.

It is interesting that numerous examples of the nude type figurine were also found in close areas nearby the temple of Istar in Babylon. It was the discovery of these nude female figurines that allowed the excavator, before the discovery of Nabu-nad'id's cylinder, to determine the function of the building⁷⁷.

The Iranian counterpart of this mighty goddess was Ardi Sura Anahita. Herodotus claims that the Iranians had «learned to sacrifice to the "heavenly" Aphrodite, from the Assyrians and Arabians»⁷⁸. On the basis of Berossus' account reported by Clement of Alexandria, however, one may suggest that at least the custom of setting up the cult statues of the goddess was introduced relatively late in Iran proper. According to this account Artaxerxes II was the first to erect statues of Anahita in various important administrative centers of the Achaemenian empire⁷⁹. Furthermore, some aspects of Anahita cult recall the Mesopotamian goddess Istar-Inanna⁸⁰.

In the light of this information, therefore, one may conclude that the clad statues around L. 114 (Nos. 34-37), the miniature (No. 38), as well as the nude statuettes (No. 39) may

⁷¹ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, 2, XXIII, 6, 84.

⁷² LANGDON, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 60.

⁷³ VAN INGEN, *Figurines from Seleucia*, p. 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 19, pl. II, 15-18.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19, pl. II, 14.

⁷⁶ Oscar Reuther, the excavator, describes the image in the following terms: «Sie (the goddess) ist bekleidet mit einem langen Ärmelgewand, das anscheinend als die Füße ganz bedeckend gedacht ist, trägt eine hohe zylindrische Mütze ohne Andeutung eines Federkranzes, und die Schultern herfallende Locken, mehrere Spannen um jedes Handgelenk und anscheinend auch einen einfachen Halsreifen, wenn die dünne erhabene Linie in Höhe der untersten Locken nicht den glauben möche. Eigentümlich ist die Haltung der Hände. Sie sind so vor die Brust gelegt, dass sich die Fingerspitzen berühren...» (*Die Innenstadt von Babylon*, p. 144, pl. 43 a-b).

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 143.

⁷⁸ [HERODOTUS], 1, I, 131.

⁷⁹ [CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA], V, 57.

⁸⁰ M. SCHWARTZ, «The Religion of Achaemenian Iran», 2, p. 670.

The decisive proof for the divine nature of certain of the statues and statuettes of Hāiabad, however, is provided by their gestures. The statues inside the niches around L. 114, as well as their miniature replicas (No. 38 and its counterpart, Pl. XXI and Fig. 119) have the left hands pressing against the left breasts. In the better-preserved example (No. 38), thanks to this pressure, and in sharp contrast to the rather flat surface of the right breast, the nipple of the left breast becomes visible from under the cloth.

The nudity of statuette no. 39 (Pls. XXII-XXIII and Figs. 120-122) is further proof of its divine identity. Whereas both male and female mortals could be shown naked in western art, in the East nudity was reserved for certain divinities. The Iranians were particularly heedful in this regard. Ammianus Marcellinus writes: «Most of them (Iranians) are so covered with clothes gleaming with many shimmering colors, that although they leave their robes open in front and on the sides, and let them flutter in the wind, yet from their head to their shoes no part of the body is seen uncovered...»⁷¹.

I suggest that the gesture of the female figures in nos. 34-39, is connected with fertility goddesses in the art of the ancient Near East, where the great Oriental goddess of fertility and love «nourishes humanity on her breast»⁷². «Almost surely to be identified with her» writes van Ingen «are the representations of a nude woman standing with her arms in one of several positions. The type with clasped hands, which is found among the earliest known figurines from Babylonia and was very popular in the third and second millennia B.C., is represented by only two examples from Seleucia. To judge from the evidence from other sites, the type was not used to any great extent during the Seleucid and Parthian periods. But the type in which the woman presses or supports her breasts, which was also used from the earliest times, continued in popularity during the later periods...»⁷³.

Slightly different is the type with one arm on her side and the other one on her breast (like nos. 34-38, Pls. XIX-XXI and Figs. 113-119)⁷⁴ or one hand on one breast and the other hand on their pudentum⁷⁵ (No. 39).

Clad examples of this Mother Goddess, al-

depict Anāhītā, the great Iranian goddess of water and fertility⁸¹.

6. Object no. 40

(Pl. XXIV and Fig. 123)

Nude male infants, more or less similar to those from Hājīābād, have been found in various sites of the ancient Near East. Their head-dress, nevertheless, is not always as neatly fashioned as it is in the case of no. 40 and its replicas. In some examples this tripartite head-dress resembles three tufts of hair⁸². Describing one of the latter examples, L. Legrain writes: «The head wears a three-pointed wreath, or else the hair is artificially waved...»⁸³.

In some other examples, unlike those from Hājīābād, the boy has a shaven head except for the tufts⁸⁴. However, no. 40 is distinguished from these various forms by its tripartite, clearly formed, heart-shaped head-dress.

These nude male infants are identified as «young Eros or Tammus»⁸⁵ or «Amorino»⁸⁶. It is uncertain, however, if all the figurines or statuettes of this type can be identified with one of these three. Some may have been votive offerings or may even have had decorative purposes⁸⁷. But those that share one attribute of Mother Goddess, such as the pomegranate⁸⁸, and those found in sanctuaries⁸⁹, may have had a religious function. No. 40, obviously, belongs to this latter group, since the figure of the boy accompanies the goddess (objects 34-39), and holds grape clusters in each hand.

The grape is a well-known symbol of fertility connected with the Dionysiac cult⁹⁰. In addition, the heart-shaped elements of the headgear of no. 40 may have been reminiscent of an ivy crown, worn during the lavish festivals in honor of this god⁹¹. However, in the context of the cult of Anāhītā the exact function of the nude youthful male remains unfortunately unclear.

7. Object no. 52

(Pl. XXV and Figs. 138-141)

In this chapter I have already compared no.

52 with the Assyrian and Achaemenian human-headed bulls from the royal palaces. Their function as guardians of the gates, however, was secondary. The human-headed bull was in fact a creation of Mesopotamian, or more probably Elamite, seal-cutters⁹². It was on their seals that this creature played a very important mythological role⁹³.

The bull was «humanized» in two ways; human-headed bull and bull-man⁹⁴. The former was a bull in all respects, except for its head which was that of a man. Noteworthy, nevertheless, are its taurine ears, adorned with earrings, its eagle wing and breast-feathers, and its curling lion tail⁹⁵.

In contrast with the bull-man and the important mythological role he had played ever

⁸¹ The image of the Goddess under a cupola had been used to decorate Parthian coffins (ANDRAE and LENZEN, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, pl. 43). The nude female reliefs on these sarcophagi (*ibidem*, p. 94) are, according to van Ingen, the Mother Goddess (VAN INGEN, *Figurines from Seleucia*, p. 19).

In the Sasanian period such female figures are depicted as standing under cupolas, on silver vessels, and on seals attributed to the fourth and fifth century A.D. Such images have been identified as representing goddess Anāhita (BIVAR, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals*, p. 62, pl. 7 CB 1-2).

⁸² MARSHALL, *Taxila*, 2, p. 530 (no. 85); VAN INGEN, *Figurines from Seleucia*, p. 198 (no. 704).

⁸³ LEGRAIN, «Small Sculptures», fig. 2, p. 209 (no. 6).

⁸⁴ MARSHALL, *Taxila*, 2, p. 709 (no. 73).

⁸⁵ LEGRAIN, «Small Sculptures», p. 209 (no. 6).

⁸⁶ MARSHALL, *Taxila*, p. 530 (no. 85).

⁸⁷ VAN INGEN, *Figurines from Seleucia*, p. 22.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁹ Like the Amorini of Taxila which have been found enshrined in a very important stūpa-shrine (MARSHALL, *Taxila*, 1, p. 328).

⁹⁰ In connection with the Sasanian period see especially: CARTER, «Dionysiac Aspects of Kushān Art», pp. 121-146; ETTINGHAUSEN, «Dionysiac Motifs», pp. 3-10; SHEPHERD, «Two Silver Rhyta», pp. 289-311.

⁹¹ A good example of this crown can be seen on a coin from Naxos with the effigy of the god (CHAMOU, *La civilisation*, pl. 79). For a brief description of the festivals see: *ibidem*, pp. 210-211.

⁹² AMIET, *Glyptique susienne*, 1, p. 142; KHAZAI, «L'évolution et la signification du griffon», p. 1.

⁹³ FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 175, 200-201.

⁹⁴ AMIET, *Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*, p. 137.

⁹⁵ GADD, *The Assyrian Sculptures*, p. 14, quoted by FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 200.

lamps, Gibil and Nusku, both companions of Šamaš. These two gods were close relatives of Išum, the personalized fire identified as the old infernal god Hēndur-sag, to whom Gudea

since he appeared⁹⁶, the human-headed bull was not at first distinguished from other animals. Mixed with the combating animals, it was one of the inoffensive ones which were usually devoured by beasts of prey, tamed, or defeated by the heros⁹⁷.

It seems, however, that in Achaemenid art,

with a few exceptions⁹⁸, the bull-man had been almost totally forgotten, its role having been attributed to the human-headed bull. Not only does this fantastic animal keep the entry of the Xerxes' gate and forms the capital of the columns of the Council Hall⁹⁹, but it is also present on several seals of the period.¹⁰⁰

A bronze example of the human-headed bull from the Parthian period is now in the Iran Bastan Museum¹⁰¹. Except for some minor details, this work generally continues the Achaemenid tradition. Besides, a human-headed bull appears on the rhyta of Nissa¹⁰². An exact reproduction of the Achaemenian examples, however, appears with the human-headed bulls frequently depicted on the Sasanian seals¹⁰³.

Sasanian human-headed bulls have been identified as representations of Gopatsah of Menog-e Kīrad¹⁰⁴. Gopatsah is described by Menog-e Kīrad in the following way: «From foot to mid-body he is an ox, and from mid-body to the top he is a man»¹⁰⁵.

Gopatsah's main task is, according to the Pahlavi texts, to purify the seas. For this,

«at all times he sits on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of gods, and pours holy-water into the sea. On account of which, through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die. Because if he does not specially perform that celebration of the ceremonial, and does not pour that holy-water into the sea – where those innumerable noxious creatures shall utterly perish – then, whenever the rain shall rain, the noxious creatures have to rain just like rain»¹⁰⁶.

Gopatsah's function, however, does not end with this. This immortal ruler of the «region of glory»¹⁰⁷ is also considered to be the spiritual chief of the Iranian Garden of Eden, Airan-Veg¹⁰⁸. In ancient Babylonia a pair of human-headed bulls represented the gods of fire or

⁹⁶ For the description, function, and the chronology of the bull-man see: FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 6, 61, 171, 200; AMIET, *Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*, p. 112.

⁹⁷ AMIET, *Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*, p. 137.

⁹⁸ Including the partially preserved bull-man of palace S at Pasargadae (STRONACH, *Pasargadae*, p. 69, fig. 35, pl. 60a) and bull-men supporting the winged image of Abūramazda (ROOT, *The King and Kingship in Achæ-*

menid Art, pp. 147-148, and pl. XL1, 41a). In this function, the Achaemenid examples of bull-men follow their Assyrian predecessors with their albas pose (*ibidem*;

AMIET, «Antiquités du Proche et du Moyen-Orient», p. 50).

⁹⁹ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, p. 65, pls. 9, 11; GHIR-

SHMAN, *Perses*, p. 154, pls. 207, 210, 212 (for the guardians). For the capitals: SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, figs. 54E,

55; GHIRSHMAN, *Perses*, pl. 270.

¹⁰⁰ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, II, pl. 3, objects PT4 652,

673, pl. 4 objects PT4 332, 601.

¹⁰¹ VON GALL, «Relieffragment», p. 244, fig. 2. See

also LUKONIN, *Iran II*, fig. 19 and p. 215 where it is

attributed to the Baghdad Museum.

¹⁰² MASSON and PUGACEENKOVA, *The Parthian Rhytons*

of Nissa, pp. 135-136.

¹⁰³ LUKONIN, *Iran II*, figs. 72, 74, 75, 77, 78; BIVAR,

Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals, EH, 1-8; EJ, 1-10 (pl.

14).

¹⁰⁴ VON GALL, «Relieffragment», p. 245, note 13. See

also LUKONIN, *Iran II*, pp. 155-156, and 179.

¹⁰⁵ *Dina-i-Matinog-i-Khirdad*, LXII, 32-33, WEST, 3, p.

111. See also: *Bundahis*, XXIX, 5 in *ibidem*: I, p. 117

and note 6.

¹⁰⁶ *Dina-i-Matinog-i-Khirdad*, LXII, 33-36, WEST, 3, pp.

111-112.

¹⁰⁷ «...The immortal rulers of the region of glory,

Khvānitrās, are said to be seven: one is... Gopatsah...»

(The *Dādistan-i Dīnk*, XC, 3-4 in WEST, 2, pp.

256-257).

¹⁰⁸ «It is declared that Abūramazd created Airan-

vegō better than other places and districts. And its good-

ness is this, that the life of the people is three hundred

years and of the oxen and sheep one hundred and fifty

years. Their pain and sickness, also little; they fabri-

cate... no lies, they make no lamentation and weeping,

and the domination of the demon of the greediness (az)

in their bodies is little. When they eat one loaf among

ten men, they are satisfied. And in every forty years one

child is born from one woman and one man. Their law,

also, is goodness, and their religion the primitive faith,

and when they die they are righteous. Their spiritual

chief (ratu) likewise, is Gopato...» (*Dina-i-Matinog-i-Khirdad*, XLIV, 24-35, WEST, 3, pp. 86-87).

vowed a statuette of human-headed bull¹⁰⁹. The human-headed bulls portrayed on alabaster lamps¹¹⁰ probably refer to this function of the monster.

The side walls of passage L. 220, leading from L. 114 into L. 104 were proposed as the original place where no. 52 and its replica may have been applied. L. 104, however, was suggested to have been a place for the cult of fire. It is therefore conceivable that the presence of the human-headed bulls on the sides of entrance 220 may have been in connection

with their role as the guardian of the fire.

So far as this attribution of the monsters under discussion cannot be traced down through the periods immediately before the Sasanian era, one cannot confirm that this had actually been their function in this site. This, therefore, remains a hypothesis to be studied¹¹¹. The other function of the human-headed bull, i.e. purifier of waters, on the other hand justifies plainly its presence in a place of the cult of Anāhītā.

6 - THE STYLE OF THE STUCCO WORKS

I shall conclude this part of the chapter with a discussion about the style of the stuccos of Hājīābād. The busts and "statues" of the site have obvious stylistic differences. If compared with Sasanian reliefs, for example, bust no. 20 (Pl. XVIII and Figs. 89-91) has a close stylistic affinity with works of the last decades of the third century A.D. The royal garment and the division of the curls of the hair on this bust find comparisons on the reliefs of Bahrām II¹¹².

Bust no. 17 (Pl. VII and Figs. 80-81), on the other hand, compares closely to the royal busts from Kiš which are dated to the 5th century A.D.¹¹³ The remaining medium-sized busts from L. 114 and large-scale busts attributed to courtyard 107 have stylistic features that differ from those of both busts nos. 17 and 20.

Stylistically, then, the busts of Hājīābād can be divided into at least three groups. If these differences are to be attributed to a difference in chronology, we conclude that the busts and statues of Hājīābād were executed over a wide span of time, probably a century or more. There are two major problems with this interpretation. First, the two busts which differ so drastically from one another (nos. 17 and 20) undoubtedly represent the same person (Šāpūr II). Second, the archaeological evidence demonstrates that the building was built in a single phase with no indications of reuse or redecoration in any part of the structure.

To what factors, then, can we attribute the obvious stylistic difference between the stuccos? One such factor may be found in their

manufacturing technique. Some of these busts were mass produced in mold. The royal busts visibly belong to this category. In this case a mold may continue to be in use for a long period of time, especially if the continued rule of the same person made a change of mold unwarranted. Thus, the mold reflects the style of the time it was made while conveniently producing busts which did no longer reflect the contemporary style. In the case of Šāpūr II, a king who reigned for seventy years, this chronological gap between the time a mold was made and the time a new bust was fashioned in the same mold, could be considerable indeed. Moreover, a molded bust differs from a hand-made, carved bust, not only by virtue of the technique but by workmanship.

¹⁰⁹ AMIET, *Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*, p. 139.

¹¹⁰ FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 61.

¹¹¹ Recent discovery of a fire altar in Barm-e Delak (east of Šīrāz) is welcome new evidence in support of this suggestion. Here four human-headed bulls, forming the capitals of the corner columns, are shown carrying the plinths within which the fire-bowl is carved (TAVOOSI and FRYE, «An Inscribed Capital», pp. 25-38. See also: GROPP, «Die Sasanian-Inschrift des Abnun in Nas-rabad»). This altar which had been mistakenly identified as a capital, was found on the site of an Islamic shrine, itself probably built on the remains of a fire temple mentioned in the inscription on the sides of the altar.

¹¹² TRÜMPPELMANN, *Das Sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mashad*, pls. 1, 3, 5, 7; HERRMANN, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, fig. 1, pl. 2.

¹¹³ HARPER, «A Stucco King from Sassanian Kish», pp. 75-79.

Two different artists, perhaps from two different parts of the empire, may have been involved – one in making the mold and the other in shaping and carving the hand-made busts (nos. 18-19). In Hajiabad, the question of technique may also be related to the importance the artists or the owner of the house attached to a specific bust. The location of a bust might indicate the importance of its subject, which in turn would dictate the amount of time and energy to be devoted to its execution. The finest stucco works of Hajiabad are busts nos. 18 and 19). These two, suggested to be representations of the owner of the house and his heir or son, were fixed on either side of eyvan 149, the area of public audiences. In that location, they could be seen and appreciated by a great number of viewers. These busts are both carved and not molded.

Area 114 was probably second in importance. This unit received stucco decoration of high quality but of lesser beauty and different in technique. In contrast to busts nos. 18 and 19, all the stuccos of this area appear to have been molded (nos. 20-26, pls. IX-XVIII and Figs. 89-102).

The stuccos attributed to L. 107 (nos. 28-33, Figs. 106-112) are of still lesser quality. It is obvious that the best artists worked on the most important items. While busts nos. 18-19 demonstrate a high degree of skill, some of the works of L. 107 exhibit a considerable lack of skill (see for example how the stucco cutter has failed to correctly shape, or carve, the eyelid in no. 29).

Another factor which may influence our perception of the style of the stuccos is the degree to which a work was completed. Bust 17, for example, seems to have been left in its unworked state after its removal from the mold. The forms on the surface of this bust are indistinct. None of the lines – on the hair curls for example – have been sharpened by final carving, as is usually the case with molded stucco.

Another possible reason for the stylistic differences in the stuccos may be an actual difference in date: one or more of these busts may have been part of the familial heritage, kept for a long time before they were finally applied on the walls of this house. Another possible

explanation is that some of them belonged to another, older structure, detached from their original place to decorate a new building. In the case of the clad and nude statues, the difference in proportions may stem from the various sources of the original models. Statue no. 38, is now acephalous and the proportions between the length of its head and body, unfortunately, cannot be known. Its extremely wide shoulders, 2/3rd of the entire length of the body, nevertheless, suggest comparison with the relief of Anahita at Naqsh-e Rostam, as well as with other female representations of the third century A.D., such as those of Tang-e Qandil¹¹⁴.

Although the treatment of the garment of the goddess may stem from Hellenistic works, yet the goddess is apparently molded after an Avestic description of Anahita, a robust young lady¹¹⁵.

The nude statues (no. 39), on the other hand, have elongated bodies. In these figures the length of the body is ca. eight times the head. From this point of view they may be compared with some late Hellenistic Aphrodites¹¹⁶. However, an Aphrodite «Pudica», presently in the collection of the Capitoline Museum, provides a good parallel with the nude statues of Hajiabad. The goddess in this life-size marble statue is shown with her right hand covering her left breast and the left hand the pubic area¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ SCHMIDT, *Persopolis*, III, pl. 90; HERMANN, *The Sassanian Rock Reliefs at Bisbapur: Part 3*, fig. 4, pls. 33-34; Id., *Naqsh-e Rostam 5 and 8*, fig. 2, pls. 8, 10.

¹¹⁵ DARMESTETER, *The Zend-Avesta*, Aban Yasht IV, 15; XXX, 126.

¹¹⁶ See for example W. FUCHS, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, pp. 234-235, pl. 253.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 238-239, pl. 257.

PART II - MURALS

1 - INTRODUCTION

Murals listed in the following catalogue come from eyvān 149. The limited area in the northeastern part of the preserved portions of eyvān 149 (west of wall 128), where the bulk of the wall paintings had fallen, was labeled L. 150 (Figs. 26, 44). As we will see later in this work, they may have actually only been part of the murals of this eyvān.

In addition, eyvān 214 was decorated only with murals. For the reasons exposed below, however, these remained unexcavated. Eyvān 214 is part of the area severely damaged by the bulldozer. The walls and accompanying debris have been removed, in some areas, within five centimeters or less of the surface of the fallen murals. The remaining thin layer of earth which still covered the wall painting was, probably as a result of the frequent movements of the heavy machine, very compact and hard. In addition, it had firmly adhered to the fallen murals as if the earth had been cemented to the murals.

Three different areas of eyvān 214 were chosen and limited patches of murals were carefully, and not without difficulty, uncovered. The amount of time these probes required brought us to the conclusion that uncovering the whole area of eyvān 214 could not be carried out by the expedition during the time still available. Moreover, the expedition lacked the minimum technical capacity and expertise necessary for such a task.

Therefore, by the end of the season the decision was made that the area of L. 214 should be covered by earth and plastered with *kahgel* (a mixture of mud and straw), to protect it until the next season. The murals of L. 150, on the other hand, were already uncovered. These, therefore, were to be taken to the Tehran Museum as soon as possible. Nevertheless, these too, were temporarily covered and plastered until the summer of 1978 when one of the members of the laboratories of the ICAR, helped by two of the foremen of the expedition, was sent to the site. This small and short expedition duly completed the final work on L. 150.

It should be remembered, however, that the second season of work on this site did not take place and the murals of L. 214, as far as I know, remained *in situ*. The fragments of L. 150 were still undergoing treatment when I was finally able to carry out a preliminary analysis. Consequently there may be lacunae or inexactitudes in some minor aspects of the information provided in the catalogue. Moreover, no final inventory of the murals had been established by the time I left the country and as far as I am aware no such inventory has been produced since. The field labels (150-1 and so forth), therefore, should be understood as provisional.

In the following discussion measurements will be given in millimeters.

2 - CATALOGUE

A - ORNAMENTAL

I - Geometric

1. 150-1

Pl. XXVIII

Length: 350 width: 80

This long portion of clay plaster has two painted surfaces which join at a right angle (sides a and b). One of the two surfaces (a) is

decorated with eight half-ovals. Each half-oval is ca. 70 mm long and 42 mm wide. These motifs are separated from one another by ca. 5 mm wide bands in black. A similar band had once limited all the motifs on their straight side. This line is now clearly observable on only two of the half-ovals. A red line, of which only faded traces can be seen, runs next to this black line.

The remaining surface of the work (side a),

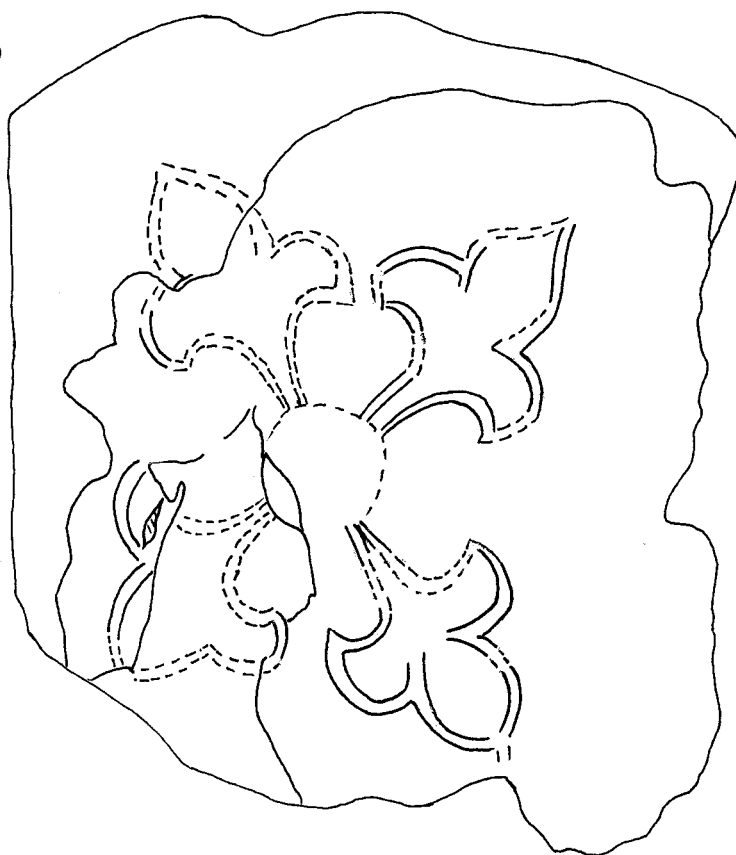
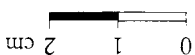


Fig. 157 - Mural, cat. no. 2, field label 150-2; abstract floral pattern.



i.e. the encompassing triangular areas between the semicircular ends of the motifs, up to the rim of the mural, is filled with black paint. This black surface continues on the other side (b) of the work. At one point the black painted surface of side b has a width of ca. 62 mm. The interior field of the half-ovals is alternately painted in red or left blank. The red paint, although no longer quite distinguishable, appears to have only partially filled the inner area. This partial, plain, red area has the shape of the half-ovals but of smaller size.

I - Portraits

B - FIGURAL

are patterns of four trilobate leaves two of which are still in good shape. Of the other two leaves only small areas are preserved. The leaves, in white, spread out radially from one center, forming a cross-shaped decorative pattern. Side b is a margin of ca. 15 mm which has probably been painted in the same color as surface a.

1. Over life-sized

3. 150-3

Pl. XXIX, Fig. 158

Length: 600 width: 425

This mural is part of a man's portrait. The uneven surface of the portrait is either not homogeneously painted, or parts of the work have lost their original color. The color of

II - Floral

2. 150-2

Fig. 157

Length: 100 width: 95

The preserved rim of this mural is shared by two flat surfaces (a and b). The better preserved side (a) has a blue-gray surface spotted with darker areas. On this background there

mud, therefore, constitutes the background for large areas of this fragment. The following elements are still distinguishable on this mural.

An area in black and brownish black at the upper left, near the broken edge of the mural, is probably the end of a hair cluster over the man's shoulder. Another but larger area similarly painted in black, and brownish black with brownish red on its rim, is the man's beard (width of the beard: ca. 185 mm). The beard is surrounded by a semicircular ochreous, or brownish red painted area which is the neck and part of the breast. Parts of the rim of the dark painted area are tooth-shaped, probably to show the individual curls or single hair string.

There is a wide collar, under the beard and neck (ca. 40 mm wide). The area between the two lines of the upper and the lower edge of the collar is ornamented with upside-down, L-shaped, independent motifs. A red painted rectangle fills in the area between the two lines of each motif. Under the collar, just on the breast-bone, there is an irregular pentalobate rosette of brownish red lines with a black spot in its center. A black line, however, parallels this contour on its outer side. By its choice of place, this motif could easily be interpreted as a pendant of a necklace which, in this case, the collar would suggest. Remains of two other such motifs, one on the right and the other on the left hand side (next to a wide

shoulder belt), nevertheless allow us to interpret them as motifs of the garment. Vertical lines under the collar's lower rim and around the upper half of the two pendants (the central one and the one to the right), represent garment's folds, where it is sewed to the collar.

A wide scalloped shoulder belt painted in brownish red extends obliquely down from the man's right shoulder to the left. The scallops are painted triangles placed alternatively on either side of the shoulder belt. The distance between the scallops seems somewhat irregular. The evenly painted shoulder belt is bordered by black lines.

This plainly painted shoulder belt partially overlaps another wide band (ca. 55 mm wide) which, like the shoulder belt itself, finds its origin on the right shoulder. Here, two rather thick lines run vertically downward, parallel to each other and slightly curved. The band which is thus made, houses another, although narrower, decorated band. The decorative elements are concentric semicircles alternating in juxtaposition in such a way that their bowed rears face the empty fields between two such motifs, while their flat sides rest on the inner band's edge.

The band just described has a replica which comes down obliquely from the right hand side of the mural, suggesting that its point of departure may be the man's left shoulder. This band goes under the shoulder belt and comes out of it somewhere near the lower and

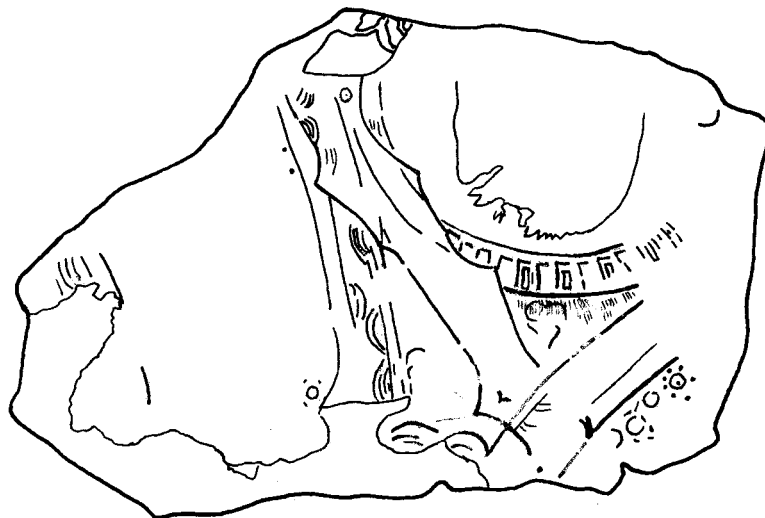


Fig. 158 - Mural, cat. no. 3, field label 150-3; over life-sized portrait of a male personage.

enough to make a reconstruction of the portraits possible. The entire work is painted on an unevenly shaded, reddish brown background. Each frame comprises two concentric circles (the diameter of the outer circle is ca. 266 mm and that of the inner one ca. 226 mm). The twenty millimeter wide field between the concentric circles is decorated with zigzags or small circles. This pattern may represent a beaded frame.

The frames of the two portraits are separated from each other by a decorative band (ca. 63 mm wide). Two heavy black lines form the border of this band. It is ornamented with a floral pattern with a central stem and alternating leaves on either side.

Portrait A (viewer's left) – This portrait is painted almost frontally though with a subtle turn to his left. The turn is emphasized by the direction of the eyes. The man's dark, curled, hair is partially visible above and under the two open wings which are the upper elements of his diadem. The curls are shown by semicircular patterns at the upper limit of the plain dark area of the hair.

The diadem is a band (ca. 9 mm wide) of light yellow between two black lines. Red lines run parallel to each other and to the limiting black lines. In the middle of the fillet, practically on the vertical axis of the portrait, there is a round depression which, if not accidentally produced, may have been incised by a bead of semiprecious or precious stone. A band as wide as the bandeau itself branches upward from the latter just above the depression. Widening gradually, it eventually splits into two stems, each ending in an open wing. Long rippled lines in red (judging from the better preserved of the two wings) branch from each stem, gradually become parallel to each other, and end at one point. The pointed, leaf-like wings thus drawn (max. length: 60 mm, max. width: 26 mm) spread horizontally and cover the greater part of the head. The wing of the right side of the head, in contrast to the one on the left side, is only partially preserved.

The right eye and the eyebrow are well preserved while only the eyebrow and the upper lid have survived on the other eye. All these are painted in both red and black. The

broken edge of the mural. Two circular motifs with a central black nucleus are painted as ornaments hanging from the outer edge of this wide band. Yellow spots were added around these circular ornaments.

The two ornamented bands join, or more precisely, come close to each other through a bilobate motif, the lower part of which is missing. This may be all that has survived from a heart-shaped pattern. The two decorated bands, forming a large V, are probably the rim of the man's coat.

The remaining parts of the work are covered with undistinguishable, and altogether confusing, patterns save for a very small portion of a third decorated band, a replica of the two which were just described. This is painted on a point quite close to the edge of the work, on the left.

It is possible that the man had worn a sleeveless jacket with open edges which were decorated with these bands. The man's shirt was most probably painted in yellow. Remains of this color are still visible around the rosette on the breast-bone and in the field between the shoulder belt and the decoration on the band.

Remains of another mural are partially detectable under the described work.

2. Under life-sized

4. (A-B). 150-4

Pls. XXXII, XXXV

Length (maximum length of the three

fragments together): ca. 670

Width: 266 mm

This mural shows the greater parts of the portraits of two men. The fragments are now fixed in plaster. Part of the border of the work, in an area between the circular frames of the portraits (see below), is still well preserved and suggests that the two portraits were painted on a band projecting at least 10 mm from the wall. The actual width of this band is not known. A reconstruction of the upper rim of the mural, given the position of the well-preserved lower rim, provides us with an estimate of 268 mm for the mural's original width.

The preserved portions, however, are large

preserved eye is oddly wide, looking rather circular.

The nose is straight, long and slightly damaged. Most of the undulating moustache is well preserved. It turns upward and joins (as can be seen on the left cheek) the man's beard somewhere near his ear. The mouth looks too long and, probably, also too narrow.

The lips are red and separated from one another by a black line. Densely hatched lines radiate from the lower lip and the mouth's heavily marked corners to show the beard. Hatchings are more compact on the area which ends in the semicircular edge of the chin. From this line on, the beard consists of distinctly drawn, independent, and sometimes slightly curved lines. The distance between the chin's lower limit and the lower lip is unnaturally wide, probably more than twice as wide as it should be. The hatchings occur at the beginning of reddish black lines, obliquely painted and more or less parallel to each other, fading here and there into evenly blackened spots. The contour of the chin is marked by black and red lines.

The right ear is well preserved while only the lower part of the other one has survived. They are in red and painted as if the portrait is in profile. Extending to the level of the mouth, they look too long. Moreover, they are unbalanced with the left ear having been apparently painted higher than the other.

The neck is excessively wide and extends from the outer rim of one ear lobe to another. From the two clusters of hair which once filled in a good portion of the area between the ears, neck, and shoulders, only the one above the man's left shoulder is well preserved. The hair cluster is shown by slightly wavy curls, loosely parallel to each other, spreading outward from the neck. While the area inside this mass contains different shades which sometimes represent the undulations, on the rim of the cluster the curls are quite distinguishable one from the other.

A heavy black line marks the upper limit of the left shoulder, the only one preserved. Of the other shoulder and the breast only a very small portion has survived. The garment is a very light yellow. It has a collar represented by two black, parallel lines. The preserved part of the collar, however, is decorated with

five spots of red in irregular forms, probably representing beads. Ten more or less well-preserved rings painted in red, scattered in two rows on the left shoulder and the breast, show the decorative patterns of the cloth. On the preserved small piece of the other half of the breast there are remains of three more such rings. Parallel lines extending from the collar's limit around these rings (and even into them) are the garment's folds.

A streamer rising from behind the shoulder partially fills in the free space between the hair cluster and the inner rim of the portraits' frame. Its background is of the same light yellow as the man's shirt. Eight parallel lines in red, painted horizontally, show the folds of the streamer.

Portrait B (viewer's right) – This portrait also depicts a male personage. The man's face, most of his hair and his breast, have survived while large portions of the portrait's circular frame and the background, as well as part of his breast, are missing. His face is in three-quarter view while the shoulders and the breast are frontal.

The preserved parts of his hair (the portion above the head and the cluster hanging on the right shoulder), although now somewhat faded away and partially damaged, seem to have been homogeneously painted in black. The unevenly worn areas now give the impression of deliberate use of different shades in order to provide the effects of undulations. The lobed edge of the area painted in black suggests, however, that the man's hair was curled. Atop the head, the hair is parted into two sections of which only the one on the spectator's left has survived.

The man wears a simple diadem comprised of a single fillet. The diadem is bordered on the upper side by the hair's dark surface and on the lower edge by two, more or less superimposed, red and black lines.

The man's right eyebrow and nose are made of one curved line in black. That section of the line which constitutes the eyebrow is slightly wider than the remaining portion. Only a segment of the left eyebrow has survived.

The upper eyelids are shown by two parallel or superimposed lines in black and ochre-

straight lines in black. The garment is light yellow. The chest (a wide semicircular band) is divided into two sections by means of a vertical decorative band on the breast-bone. Two parallel lines in ochrous red on either side of this decorative motif divide it into three vertical bands; two narrow lateral bands and one wider central one. The background of the two lateral bands of the vertical motif is darker than the light yellow of the garment and the decorative band's central division. The central band is decorated with a set of five concentric squares or rectangles which are all diagonally painted. On this section, however, there is no room for all these squares (or rectangles), so the two outermost are cut in the corners on the one hand by the collar and by the two lateral bands on the other. All these are in ochrous red. Moreover, the surface of the innermost square is filled with this color.

Groups of triple rings, also in ochrous red, decorate the remaining surface of the garment. Six such groups are traceable on the man's trunk, three on each side of the decorative band of the breast-bone.

5. 150-5

Pl. XXXIII

Height: 113 width: 103

The left half (viewer's right) of the face, neck, and part of the hair of a man painted between frontal and three-quarter views. The man, nevertheless, looks forward.

Parts of the lower limit of his diadem are still visible on the upper edge of his forehead. Although partly damaged, the man's left eyebrow is better preserved than that of the right side. The slightly curved left eyebrow joins a barely visible vertical line of which the man's nose is made. Only his left eye is preserved. This is immensely large. A rather wide curved band in ochrous red shows the upper lid. The nose is long, narrow, and pointed. The preserved portion of the moustache shows that the man had a long and slightly undulating moustache. The end of the moustache obliquely turns upward and joins the beard on the side of the cheek. Under the reddish black line of the moustache, there is an area with unclear pattern in lighter shades of ochrous red-black, which as it goes downward gra-

ous red. The eyes are large. The iris is shown by a black circle with its inner area in ochrous red. The dark point inside the red field is the pupil. The remaining parts of the eyes are in very light cream. The eyes skillfully reflect the three-quarter position of the face and the direction of the man's look towards portrait A.

The lower end of the nose is badly damaged. It appears, however, to be disproportionately long, provided of course that the short, loosely serpentine, upward curved, line right above the moustache be its lowermost limit. The moustache is shown by two slightly undulating and partly superimposed ochrous red and black bands of irregular width. Part of the moustache on the man's right cheek is missing. It appears, nevertheless, to have once crossed the face from one side to another.

Nothing is left of the mouth. Black hatch-
es, still clearly visible under the left extremity of the moustache show the beginning of the beard in that area. The well-preserved part of the beard which is evenly painted in black, is semi-oval in shape. The border of the beard, however, is straight and not lobed as is the case with the hair. The background of the face, especially on the cheeks, appears to be a light shade of ochrous red.

The left ear and part of the head and face are missing. The right ear is also mostly damaged. The small remaining part of the right ear, however, show that the ears were painted in frontal view as if the portrait were in profile. Moreover, the ear appears to be too long. It is not clear whether the man bore earrings or not. His neck, however, is excessively wide, wider even than the head, and the ear simply appears as part of this mass of the neck. A cluster of hair, partly damaged and worn off, triangular in shape with lobed border, fills in the field between the neck and the shoulder. The scalloped pattern of the edge, as is mentioned above, shows the hair's undulations. The collar is relatively well preserved except for a small portion of its left end. It is composed of a band limited by two black lines. Its surface, which is darker than the remaining parts of the garment, is decorated with loosely defined rings or patches in ochre originally designed as beads.

Shoulders are outlined by two heavy



Fig. 159 - Mural, cat. no. 7, field label 150-7; hind quarter of a horse (?).

dually becomes darker to represent the beard. That part of the beard which has survived is painted in a way similar to the beard of no. 150-4B (Pl. XXXII), with a clearly defined border and a surface homogeneously filled in with black paint.

A V shaped line in ochrous red on the left of the man's eye (between the black line of his beard and his hair) shows his earlobe. Judging from the place of the earlobe, therefore, it appears that the ear was painted much higher than it could be. The neck continues from the earlobe more or less vertically downward to the broken edge of the mural.

Only part of the man's hair cluster on his left shoulder has survived. This is also painted in an even black color like no. 150-4B's.

6. 150-6

Pl. XXXIV

Height: 118 width: 111

This mural shows part of the head (viewer's left), one eye and ear of a man. The man, who was probably painted in three-quarter view, looks to the spectator's left. The hair is evenly painted in black. The top of the hair is flat but it is lobate on its vertical edge. The three lobes show three rows of superimposed curls.

The gray band under the lowermost lobe, between the dark surface of the hair on the one hand and the forehead on the other, is the fillet of the diadem. The upper eyelid is narrow and ochrous red. The upper part of the ear and the beginning of the hair cluster on the right shoulder are also preserved.

II - Others

7. 150-7

Pl. XXX, Fig. 159

Length: 540 width: 280

This rather large mural is so badly damaged that it can hardly reveal any precise pattern. Figure 159, nevertheless, suggests that this composition of black curved and straight lines and surfaces painted in shades of black or ochrous red, probably shows the hind quarter of a horse (flank, loin, haunch, croup, part of the thigh and tail). If so, the oval form near the center of the mural, painted in black and brown, is a tassel. The rim of the tassel cap is decorated with pointed petals. Two parallel dark lines running obliquely downward across the middle of the haunch probably comprise a strip. A motif painted close to this, in an area under the tassel, could be a bell which hangs from the strip.

It is likely that the confusing pattern of more or less parallel lines on the upper limit of the haunch is what has survived of the rider's garment. A similar motif on the extreme left side of the mural is probably the horse's tail with streamers turned upward.

8. 150-8

Pl. XXXI, Fig. 160

Length: 280 width: 190

This mural is similar to no. 150-7 in its general appearance and color. Likewise the mural under discussion hardly reveals any clear pattern. Figure 160, nevertheless, shows what appears to be again the hind quarter of a



Fig. 160 - Mural, cat. no. 8, field label 150-8; hind quarter of a horse (?) followed by the hooves of a nother horse (?).

left half of the mural may have been hooves of another horse.

9. 150-9

Twelve pieces most of them being very small in size, are also part of the uncovered murals. Some are painted only in blue and were probably part of the background. Others show traces of motifs which probably belonged to the garment.

3 - DISTRIBUTION

still *in situ* are not applied onto white plaster.

One of the fragments *in situ* belongs to the vertical rim of a mural with two surfaces (ranging from one to two centimeters in width and ca. 10 cm in length) painted in black and meeting at a right angle. Among the catalogued murals only the edge of mural no. 1 (a band of half ovals, Pl. XXVIII) displays similar characteristics. Unless this similarity is fortuitous, both no. 1 of the catalogue and the fragment *in situ* belong to the frame or the border of a decorated niche.

If part of the fragment *in situ*, mural no. 1 had to be painted vertically. A comparison between the murals of eyvân 149 and the wall paintings of several other sites shows that patterns similar to mural no. 1 appear only in the sixth-century Panjikent. Here, however, the

horse. A well-defined and roughly circular motif on the right side of the mural is painted next to a similar motif of smaller size but of the same color. Both belong to the decorative elements of the saddle. Two smaller areas in black painted on the right edge of the mural show what could have been more decorative elements. Two large patches painted in black and different shades of ochreous red on the

Wall 128 was undoubtedly decorated with murals. In addition to several pieces of murals discovered *in situ* on this wall, all the catalogued mural fragments were unearthed in the immediate vicinity of this wall inside eyvân 149. The area in which the murals were unearthed (L. 150), was 2.90 m long. Its width varied from 1.20 m in the south to 50 cm to the north, near the bulldozed edge of eyvân 149 and wall 128. The lower part of wall 128, however, was not decorated. This portion of the wall, plastered over with a white material (probably gypsum), was ca. 63 cm high. The murals, therefore, must have been painted above this plastered area. This hypothesis seems confirmed, not only because the fallen murals show no trace of a white background but particularly because the above-mentioned murals

motif is painted horizontally on the lower rim of a decorative frieze¹¹⁸ and not vertically as in no. 1.

These half-ovals are also comparable with the Egyptian cavetto cornices¹¹⁹ or the drooping leaves of the Persepolitan stone carvings¹²⁰ as well as with some Sasanian stone and stucco works¹²¹. Nevertheless, the similarity is stronger between the pattern on mural 1 and the drooping leaves carved on some of the parapets of Persepolis¹²², motifs chiseled on the stone works of the Sāsān spring¹²³ and stucco no. 9 from Hājīābād (Fig. 70). In previous discussions I suggested that this latter stucco had a function similar to the Egyptian cavetto cornice and was worked out horizontally (see ch. IV, part I, distribution). In the Persepolitan parapets and the early Sasanian work of the Sāsān spring, the situation is alike: the motif is used horizontally. Considering these examples, where the patterns parallel to those on mural 1 from Hājīābād are all used in a horizontal position, the suggestion that this mural was part of the painting still *in situ* on wall 128, and was therefore in vertical position, seems unlikely.

In a Palmyran relief this motif frames a funerary scene from three, upper and lateral, sides¹²⁴. The use of this motif in these positions on the Palmyran work enables us to rely more on our archaeological evidence. The motif could, after all, have been painted vertically as well as horizontally.

The width of side b in mural no. 1 suggests that this mural was probably part of the lateral, vertical (and upper, horizontal?) rim of a niche at least 62 mm deep. This niche was probably reserved for the principal mural of eyvān 149. Both in the above-mentioned Palmyran relief and many Achaemenid examples, this motif is carved around or under the main subject of the relief¹²⁵.

Judging from the size of the over life-sized portrait (catalogue no. 3, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 158), the principal theme of the murals of eyvān 149 was most probably this portrait. If in this portrait as much of the body was shown as was depicted in the case of the under life-sized portraits (catalogue no. 4 A-B, Pl. XXXV), then it could originally be ca. 750 mm high and wide. On the preserved portion of no. 3, however, one can see parts of the

trunk which are not painted on the smaller portraits (no. 4 A-B). In the latter the shoulder ends before the armpits, while in no. 3 this part of the body is partially visible on the viewer's left side. As far as the breast of the larger portrait (no. 3) is concerned, the situation was like. More was probably shown of the breast of this man than was painted of the breasts of the smaller portraits (no. 4 A-B). It is, therefore, possible that the large-scale portrait was wider and longer than the above-mentioned 750 mm. Unfortunately at present I am unable to know if this large-scale portrait had a circular frame similar to the smaller portraits or not. Several Central Asian, fifth and sixth century A.D., works, however, demonstrate an arrangement in which the main theme is shown in a circular frame itself surrounded by smaller circles with secondary subjects¹²⁶. One reaches the conclusion then that in comparison with the smaller portraits (no. 4 A-B), the larger portrait (no. 3) with its additional parts (on the shoulder and breast), and frame was probably between 80 to 90 cm in diameter. This figure is very similar to the width of the bands on which the main themes of the Central Asian murals are painted¹²⁷.

The place of the main themes of the decoration in the eyvāns of Tāq-e Bostān (the only Sasanian eyvān still standing with their original decorative patterns¹²⁸), and in the main

¹¹⁸ AZARPAY *et al.*, *Sogdian Painting*, figs. 14, 25.

¹¹⁹ ROOT, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, p. 77.

¹²⁰ For example in the Gate of Xerxes, Council Hall, Throne Hall, Palace of Darius, and Harem of Xerxes: SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, figs. 27, 28 (F), 37 (A-B), 40 (A), 56 (A), 61 (A), 62 (A-D), 91 (A-B), pl. 128 A-B.

¹²¹ FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, 1 (Pls. 1-56), pl. 42; HUFF, «Qal'a-ye Dukhtar bei Firuzabad», fig. 4.

¹²² SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, I, pls. 25-26, 71-72.

¹²³ FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, 1 (Pls. 1-56), pl. 46.

¹²⁴ MICHALOWSKI, *Palmyre*, p. 51, fig. 58.

¹²⁵ In the Achaemenid royal tombs, for example, the rim of the royal throne is decorated with this motif: SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, III, p. 85, pls. 19, 22, 51, 63.

¹²⁶ GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, p. 315, pl. 424; T. TALBOT RICE, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia*, pp. 165, 168, figs. 150, 152.

¹²⁷ AZARPAY *et al.*, *Sogdian Painting*, p. 60.

¹²⁸ FUKAI *et al.*, *Taq-i Bostan*, 1, pls. II, V, XXVII, 2:

Mural no. 3, the main theme of the wall paintings of eyvān 149, was found in the northern part of L. 150 (Fig. 44). Its found spot also supports the suggestion that this portrait was painted inside a niche near the end of wall 128.

The smaller size of portraits 4 A-B (under life-sized, Pl. XXXV) in comparison with the size of portrait no. 3 (over life-sized) is the best indication of their lesser importance. Portraits A and B are separated from one another by a vertical band decorated with a floral motif. A small portion of a similar pattern is also preserved on the edge of the mural, next to portrait 4B (on the viewer's right side). This indicates that portraits 4 A-B may have been parts of a continuous set of at least three portraits. Nos. 5 and 6 of the catalogue (Pl. XXXIII-XXXIV) have the same proportions as no. 4 A-B. This suggests that the decorative band on which portraits A and B were painted may originally have contained at least four portraits.

Assuming that the circular frame of each portrait was always about equidistant from the nearest motif on either side, or from the edge of the tier in the case of those portraits painted at either end of the band, each complete set of the elements belonging to one portrait had the following sequence:

A: ± 18 mm; distance between the frame and the edge of the decorative band;

B: ± 266 mm; the portrait and its circular frame;

A: ± 18 mm; distance between the circular frame of each portrait and the vertical decorative band separating each portrait;

C: ± 63 mm; the width of the vertical decorative band between each frame.

A band of four portraits was therefore com-

pls. I-III, XXXIV, LXIII-LXVI, 3; pls. V-VI, VIII-IX, XXII-XXIII.
¹²⁹ Azarpay et al., *Sogdian Painting*, p. 51. I have considered the religious-cult scenes as the main subjects of the Central Asian murals.
¹³⁰ For Central Asia see: *ibidem*, p. 56. For Kūh-e Rājeh, see STEIN, *Innerrmost Asia*, 2, 913, fig. IV, 52-55.
¹³¹ Azarpay et al., *Sogdian Painting*, p. 59.

rooms in some Central Asian sites¹²⁹, is the rear wall of the room. This is not in agreement with the position of the over life-sized portrait under discussion, i.e. the main theme of the murals of eyvān 149. According to my reconstruction the over life-sized portrait was painted on a lateral wall (L. 128) of the eyvān and not on the wall facing the entrance.

This difference in the position of the main subjects in eyvān 149 and the eyvān of Tag-e Bostān and the sites in Central Asia can be equally attributed to the form of the rooms and the purpose of the buildings in each group. In contrast to the tentative reconstruction of eyvān 149, where the rear wall is suggested to have been cut by a doorway (Fig. 43 and Pls. A, C), the corresponding walls in the eyvāns of Tag-e Bostān and the comparable rooms in the Central Asian sites are all plain. Moreover, it seems that the two eyvāns of Tag-e Bostān were cut in order to house the reliefs. In this case the eyvāns had to be «adapted» to their reliefs and not vice versa. This is of course not the case with eyvān 149 which was erected to fulfill above all a function other than a show-room for its decoration; no matter how purposeful the latter may have been. In eyvān 149, however, the only plain walls were the two lateral ones (L. 121 and 128). It was on one of these two walls (L. 128) that the unearthed murals were painted. The larger portrait, probably the main theme by virtue of its size, was painted in a niche close to the end of the eyvān, next to the rear wall of the eyvān.

This arrangement was not totally unprecedented either. Murals from Kūh-e Rājeh and some of the Central Asian sites provide us with examples of this sequence¹³⁰; for instance, in the Sogdian murals, as is already mentioned, the wall opposite to the entrance was usually reserved for the religious-cult scenes while «themes such as banquets, battles, processions, etc. had no fixed position in the plan of a room»¹³¹. It is almost certain that none of the portraits uncovered in eyvān 149 represents a divine being. These portraits, therefore, did not require any fixed place on the rear wall of the eyvān, provided of course that the tradition in vogue in Sogdiana was also applied by the Hājīabad artist whenever necessary.

posed of the following sequence of these elements: A-B-A-C-A-B-A-C-A-B-A-C-A-B-A. The length of a band comprising these elements was about 1400 mm (exactly 1397 mm).

I proposed in the catalogue that nos. 7 and 8 (Pls. XXX-XXXI and Figs. 159-160) were probably the hind quarters of two different horses. The horses were of different dimensions. No. 8 was about 2/3rd of the size of no. 7.

The position of the tail and the tassel in no. 7 is comparable with the position of the parallel elements in the Sasanian jousting or hunting scenes¹³². In both cases the tail and tassel are turned upward, unlike the standing horses of the scenes of investiture in which these elements are shown hanging. This comparison also shows that the height of the horse in mural no. 7 originally must have been about (or slightly more than) double the size of the preserved portion. The mural, therefore, has been at least as much as 600 mm high.

Although the preserved fragments are too small to be representative of the whole scene depicted on wall 128, absence of animal representation among the murals so far uncovered or recognized, argue in favour of a jousting, rather than a hunting, scene. The difference in scale between the two horses of eyvān 149 (nos. 7 and 8), however, shows that the jousting scene painted here was not of the type in which the two equestrians confront each other frontally. In this case, the two horses as well as the men engaged in combat are of about the same size. Moreover, if the two horses were engaged in a frontal jousting scene, the two hind quarters should have been painted in opposite directions. This is not the case here. The scene, therefore, may have been of the type in which the hero pursues and spears to death a fleeing cavalryman. Scenes of this kind were frequently shown both in murals and rock reliefs¹³³. The two dark brown areas on the left side of the mural (Pl. XXXI and Fig. 160), which were up to now very confusing and indistinguishable, may now be interpreted as the hoofs of the pursuing horse.

In the previous pages it has been suggested that the main subject of the murals of eyvān 149, i.e. portrait no. 3, was painted in a niche

at least 62 mm deep and ca. one meter high and wide. The niche was built at the end of wall 128, immediately next to the rear end wall of the eyvān, a section which is now bulldozed. This hypothesis was put forward in spite of the fact that the bulk of portrait no. 3 was not the northernmost piece of the murals uncovered in L. 150 (Fig. 44).

The smaller portraits 4 A-B were found at the northern extremity of L. 150 and 5 and 6 farther to the southwest and closer to the middle of eyvān 149. They may have been painted next to the niche of the main subject, towards the middle of the wall. These portraits are suggested to have been altogether about 1.40 m long.

Fragments nos. 7 and 8 were found in the southern part of L. 150. If there is a direct correspondence between the place where the murals were discovered inside L. 150 and their original location on wall 128, then we may reasonably conclude that they were painted next to the smaller portraits toward the south. According to this pattern different themes were painted side by side in the following sequence:

- to the north, the main portrait (no. 3);
- in the middle, the secondary portraits (no. 4 A-B, and 6);
- to the south, the scene with the horses (nos. 7-8).

The reality, however, may have been more complex. The fact that no. 3 was found in the preserved section of the eyvān (Fig. 44), while its original location was presumably farther to the north (on the removed section of wall 128); that almost all the murals were upside-down when found, show that the murals did not collapse exactly in front of their original place. Not only had they moved altogether somewhat to the south, but this change of direction had apparently been more pro-

¹³² SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, III, pls. 89, 91, 93A, 95; GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, pls. 165-166, 195, 220, 247-248, 251, 253; VANDEN BERGHE *et al.*, *Reliefs rupestres*, pls. 30, 33; HARPER, *Silver Vessels*, pls. 10, 15, 17, 18, 20-23.

¹³³ GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, pls. 166, 219, 220, and 223; SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, III, pl. 91.

ral (Fig. 161, surface a) at a right angle was painted because it was probably intended to be occasionally seen. No other panel, painted or unpainted, could be juxtaposed.

The rim also shows that the panel on which portraits 4 A-B, and probably also 5 and 6 were painted (Fig. 161, surface a) was not flush with the remaining surface of the wall. The painted surface of the panel (Fig. 161, surface a) protruded from the wall. The thickness of the panel which protruded was at least one centimeter. This is the average width of the black painted surface of the rim (Fig. 161, surface b2) which joins the painted surface of the panel (Fig. 161, surface a) at a right angle, as is mentioned above.

The upper edge of no. 4 A-B is broken and it cannot be known with any certainty if the protruding surface (Fig. 161, surface a) was limited to the tier of the portraits or had continued above it. I suggest, nevertheless, that all the murals were at the same level except perhaps a band evenly painted in red above the plastered (and unpainted) lower surface of the wall. Traces of red paint were found on the northern end of wall 128 and in an area ca. 33 cm wide and 90 cm long. The red painted surface visible under portrait 6 (Pl. XXXIV) may have been part of this area accidentally joined to the falling mural. The scene with the cavalry combat, therefore, may have been painted at the same level as the portraits.

It has been previously suggested that the jousting scene was probably painted next to the smaller portraits, towards the opening of

nounced for the murals on the higher panels than for those of the lower areas. It is almost certain that portraits 4 A-B, were painted on a lower panel. Part of the lower rim of mural 4, between portraits A and B, is well preserved. This surface (Fig. 161, surface b2) which joins the surface of the mu-

Fig. 161 - Tentative reconstruction of the panel on which murals 4A-B, 5-6 and probably also 7-8 were painted.

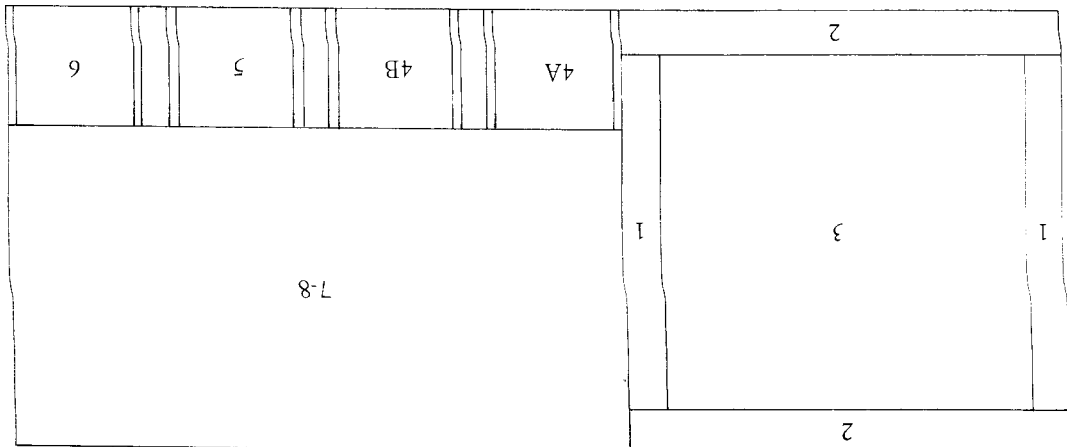
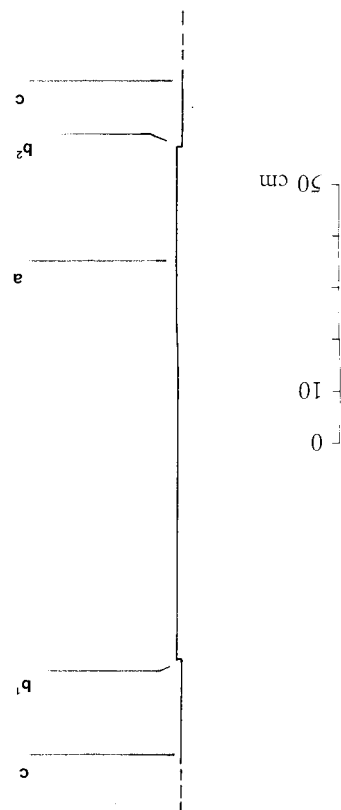


Fig. 162 - Hypothetical reconstruction of the composition of the murals in eyvân 149.

the eyvān. If so, a large panel of about 60 to 70 cm wide and at least 1.40 m long, which is the area above (or under?) the smaller portraits and between portrait no. 3 and the jousting scene, would remain empty (assuming of course that all scenes originally depicted on wall 128 are represented by at least one uncovered piece of mural). The red paint, therefore, may have been applied onto this surface to fill the vacuum, unless the scene of cavalry combat was painted above the small portraits – as is suggested in Fig. 162 – and not next to them.

A comparison between the size of the motifs on nos. 7 and 8 and their counterparts in similar monuments in wall paintings as well as rock reliefs, reveals that the combat scene on wall 128 may have been longer than the total length of the four smaller portraits (i.e. ± 1.40 m). The closeness of the hooves of the pursuing horse to the body of the pursued one, together with the marked reduction of the size of the latter in comparison with the earlier, show that the artist had probably faced a lack of space and had to adapt the pattern to the limited area available to him.

4 - TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS

The top coat of the paintings in Hājīābād (as far as the preliminary observations reveal) is a fine, probably straw tempered, mud. In some cases (nos. 3, 5, and 6) two thick coats of mud plaster are superimposed, with paintings on both of them. The upper coat, nevertheless, does not adhere firmly to the lower one. For this reason they appear like pieces of the same murals, accidentally superimposed when the wall collapsed, rather than belonging to two different periods or stages of decoration.

The discovery of some 10 iron pieces among the fallen murals suggests that they may have been used to strengthen the adherence of the heavy layer of mud plaster onto

the wall – a technique similar to that of the stucco works.

The mud background had different tones of cream, tending from yellow to light brown. Primary outlines, except in one case, are in ocherous red and the final pattern in black. The exception is no. 2 on which the background is painted in dark-blue-gray and the design in white. The palette is extremely simple, or even poor. The colors are limited to cream (or rose?), blue, black, ocherous red, brown, and yellow. These colors seem to have been applied on a dry background. In this respect the murals of Hājīābād should be called *secco* rather than *fresco*.

5 - THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SOME OF THE MURALS

1. - Portrait no. 3 (Pl. XXIX and Fig. 158)

By virtue of its size, portrait no. 3 was considered the main theme of the murals of eyvān 149. In many murals from periods preceding and following that under discussion the principal subject was mainly (but not exclusively) a divine being, a king or a hero. Primarily, then portrait no. 3 should belong to one of these three categories.

The only well-preserved part of no. 3's face is the beard, as is described in the catalogue. This beard is round, sometimes with small dentils on its rim, probably small independent

curls, or individual hair strings.

This manner does not conform to Sasanian royal imagery of the first two centuries of the dynasty where the royal beard is tied at the chin by a ring, and hangs in a tuft¹³⁴.

The treatment of the beard thus precludes

¹³⁴ For some examples, see: TRÜMPPELMANN, *Das Sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mashad*, pls. 1, 7; HERMANN, *Naqsh-i Rostam 5 and 8*, fig. 2, pl. 8; Id., *Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 3*, figs. 2-3, pls. 10, 25-26. There are, to my knowledge, three exceptions to this «general» law; two of Ardašīr I's earliest reliefs and one of Bīšāpūr, mostly attributed to Šāpūr II (VANDEN BERGHE, *Reliefs rupestres*, figs. 9, 11, pls. 17, 34).

identification of the portrait with the imagery of the Sasanian King of Kings, Šapur II (as the reigning king) or with that of his predecessors.

What can still be seen of the man's garment provides further reasons for identifying him as a personage other than the King of Kings. On official representations, the Sasanian kings usually (but not systematically) appear to have been dressed in two ways. In one, the cloak which was worn open on the chest, was passed back over the shoulders with heavy folds, and fastened on the breast with two disks or rings¹³⁵. In the other, the garment was worn with shoulder and chest straps fixed on the breast with a ring¹³⁶. Both examples are depicted on busts from Hājīābād (catalogue nos. 17 and 20). Nevertheless, in the third century A.D., two of the Sasanian kings, Šapur I and Bahram II are sometimes depicted wearing «unconventional» garments. Šapur I's jacket in his statue in the Cave of Šapur is similar to that of the Parthian prince from Sami, Bahram II is depicted on his relief in Naqš-e Rostam without a cloak or any other outer garment¹³⁷. In these representations of Šapur and Bahram, the collar is different from that of the portrait under discussion. In this and some other portraits from Hājīābād, the collars are similar. As I shall discuss later, these are not portraits of the Sasanian King of Kings either.

Although exceptional in its larger size among the portraits from Hājīābād, portrait no. 3 cannot be a representation of the Sasanian King of Kings because as is mentioned above, it lacks features, such as the bow-tied beard that distinguished royal images.

Does this portrait represent a divine being?

The remains of portrait no. 3 do not offer any definite solution to this question. As far as one can observe on the preserved murals, there is no difference of treatment between this and nos. 4 A-B, 5, and 6. For example there was apparently no symbolic use of col-lors to distinguish the divine from the human beings, as is the case with some of the paintings from Central Asia¹³⁸. Other portraits of the site (4 A-B, 5, 6), however, are more helpful to find an answer to this question. If the main subject is a divine

It was previously suggested that bust no. 18 was probably the principal person depicted in stucco. Not only was this bust placed at a focal point of the building, but it was together with bust no. 19, the finest of all busts found on the site. Moreover, bust no. 18, together with nos. 17 and 19, was the largest of all the busts of the site. It has been suggested that the reason for this special treatment was probably that the bust represented the lord of the Manor. Portrait no. 3 was also treated with similar attention, but unlike bust no. 17, it was not a portrait of Šapur II, neither that of a divine

The man depicted on this mural was not a hero. Heroes are usually shown involved in actions narrated in a single scene or in a sequence of episodes¹³⁹. The purely frontal pause of portrait no. 3, in contrast, suggests that the figure was probably not engaged in any action.

¹³⁵ See note 134.
¹³⁶ GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, pls. 164, 195.
¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, pls. 208-209, 212-213; VANDEN BERGHE, *Reliefs rupestres*, pl. 26.
¹³⁸ AZARPAY *et al.*, *Sogdian Painting*, pp. 165-167.
¹³⁹ Like the jousting scene (for single episode) or some of the scenes among the Central Asian murals: *ibidem*, p. 95.

being or any recognizable hero. The reason for its larger size and apparent richness in the details of garment, was probably that it was the counterpart of bust 18 among the murals of the site. No. 3 is probably a portrait of the lord of the Manor House.

2. Portrait no. 4 A (Pl. XXXV)

The elaborate diadem of portrait 4 A is mostly well preserved. Moreover, the damaged section of the diadem can be easily and securely reconstructed.

The fillet of the diadem is a beaded band. In the middle of this band there is a depression which appears to have been the place of a precious or semi-precious stone. From above this spot a band stems upward and develops into two spread wings. Of the two wings, the one on the viewer's right side is well preserved. Of the other wing less than half has survived. The preserved portion of the left wing clearly shows that the wing was a replica of the one on the right side. The two wings were painted symmetrically. A reconstruction of the damaged wing by following the pattern of the better preserved one, therefore, would not be unjustified.

In our discussion about the busts of Šāpūr II (catalogue of stucco nos. 17 and 20) we saw that each Sasanian king had a crown which was a characteristic of his own regalia and was not shared by others. As a personal emblem, therefore, the diadem of no. 4 A will help us to identify the man, provided of course that this tradition had also been applied in his case.

Among the predecessors of Šāpūr II, two kings had crowns distinguished with a pair of spread wings. The first was Bahrām II (276-293)¹⁴⁰ and the second, Hormizd II (302-309)¹⁴¹.

There were, however, major differences between the crowns of these two kings. The wings of the crown of Hormizd II were those of a bird (usually considered an eagle) whose head emerges forward, holding a spherical bead with its beak above a row of beads superimposing the fillet of the diadem. Moreover, the ends of the wings in this crown are spirally

twisted inward¹⁴².

In the crown of Bahrām, on the other hand, the upper rims of the wings were usually flat (on the coins) or curved upward (in reliefs) and not twisted inward. In addition, the wings on Bahrām's crown, with some exceptions, are not accompanied by a bird's head. The exceptions are some of his coins where the entire fore-part of the bird's body is shown right in front of the crown's corymbos. Unlike the bird of Hormizd's crown, this one bears no bead on its beak¹⁴³.

The winged diadem of 4 A, therefore, resembles the crown of Bahrām II more than that of Hormizd II. Important differences, nevertheless, exist between Bahrām's crown and the crown of 4 A. As far as the wings are concerned, in Bahrām's crown they are applied on the sides of the head while in 4 A, they have a common stem above the front. Moreover, Bahrām's head is covered, 4 A's is not. Above all, the crown of 4 A lacks the corymbos, a permanent part of the Sasanian crowns. While the first two differences show that portrait 4 A was not that of Bahrām II either, the last one suggests that it could hardly be the portrait of a Sasanian King of Kings. For the identification of the portrait we should, therefore, look to other sources.

Among the Kūšāno-Sasanian kings who were subjects of the Sasanians, Hormizd issued several series of coins with different crowns, some with a hair globe similar to, or comparable to, that of the Sasanians¹⁴⁴. However, he also wore a crown identical to 4 A's

¹⁴⁰ NÖLDEKE, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 415, Table A.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 416, Table A.

¹⁴² GÖBL, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, p. 46, Table V 7; GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, pl. 220; HERRMANN, *Naqsh-i Rostam 5 and 8*, pl. 7, pls. 4, 6a, fig. 1; VANDEN BERGHE, *Reliefs rupestres*, pl. 33.

¹⁴³ GÖBL, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, p. 44, table III-IV; GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, pls. 214-216; TRÜMPPELMANN, *Felsrelief von Sar Mashad*, p. 9, pls. 5, 7; HERRMANN, *Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, p. 6, pls. 1-2, fig. 1.

¹⁴⁴ GÖBL, *System und Chronologie*, table V: 39-40 and VI: 55; see also HERZFELD, «Kushano-Sasanian Coins», fig. 17 and coin 24; LUKONIN, *Kulture Sasanids-hogo*, p. 222 and table XXI g. BRUNNER, «The Chronology of the Sasanian Kušanšāhs», p. 156; CARTER, «A Numismatic Reconstruction», table 1.

diadem: one comprising two spread wings above a fillet¹⁴⁵. It could, therefore, be suggested that portrait 4 A was that of Hormizd Kušānšāh. This suggestion, however, remains broadly hypothetical.

3. Portrait no. 4 B (Pls. XXXII, XXXV)

In contrast with portrait 4 A and its elaborate diadem, 4 B bears no identifiable insignia. A definite identification of the man portrayed on 4 B, therefore, seems impossible. The identification of 4 A as Hormizd Kušānšāh, nevertheless, gives us some possible clues as to the identity of 4 B. Above all, it channels our attention to the Kušānšāhs or the personalities related to them.

It has already been argued in this work that the three-quarter pose of bust 19 may refer to its subordinate position in regard to bust 18, which is in frontal view. It was also said that the same conclusion can be reached in the case of portraits 4 A-B and 6-7; i.e. both 4 A and 5 were superiors of 4 B and 6. The ties between busts 18-19, portraits 4 A-B and probably also nos. 5 and 6, may manifest different situations. They could, for example, hint at

father to son relationship; the respect paid by the son to his father. On the other hand, they could be of political nature; the respect expressed by a subordinate to his superior in rank. However, the difference with which the hair and the beard of the two portraits are treated may argue against the first (father-son), and in favor of the second (superior-subordinate), hypothesis¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁵ Göbl, *System und Chronologie*, table VI: 57; Al-ram, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, p. 922; Crabb, «Nutmismatic Evidence», p. 156 and coin 5. See also the description of coin 25 in Herzfeld, «Kushano-Sasanian Coins», p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ These differences can be compared with similar distinctions made on Achaemenid and Sasanian reliefs, where difference in the shape of the hair and beard refer to ethnic variations. Tansar's epistle, an important document from the Sasanian period ([Tansar], *The Letter of Tansar*, M. Boyce trans. p. 64) confirms that during the Sasanian period the Iranians had a clear, though very generalized, idea of their own physical characteristics and those of the surrounding, non-Iranian ethnic groups. The characteristics of portrait 4A seem to refer to the people of the east and northeast of Iran (idem). If father and son, then of the same ethnic origin, portraits 4A and B should have had similar physical characteristics.

CHAPTER V

CERAMICS

1 - INTRODUCTION

The information available on Sasanian ceramics remains sparse and, with few exceptions, cannot be used as a heuristic device for defining settlement sequences throughout the provinces of the Sasanian empire¹. Although proportionally more Parthian and Sasanian sites have been surveyed and excavated in Mesopotamia than in any other province of Iran during these periods² even here the archaeologist's knowledge of the ceramics from these periods lacks precision³. Compared with the Mesopotamian situation, the relative lack of extensive excavations on the Iranian plateau makes the situation there much more serious, especially in an isolated area like Hājīābād. It was not until very recently that careful examination of ceramics from sites and regions such as Qal'eh-i Yazdigird⁴, Tall-e Malyān⁵, Qasr-i Abu Nasr⁶, Tureng Tepe⁷, Siraf⁸, the Damghan Plain⁹, and the Southeastern Iran¹⁰, as well as study of an entire period¹¹, partially improved our knowledge about Parthian and Sasanian pottery.

The Hājīābād excavations are important for our understanding of Sasanian ceramic sequences, since the Manor House is fairly securely dated and can therefore serve as a chronological base for our discussion concerning Sasanian ceramics in the region. Nevertheless, I would like to emphasize that both the excavation and this report have limitations. The Hājīābād ceramics certainly have the potential to provide additional information beyond the analyses presented in this report. The information in this chapter is based on observations made during the excavation or shortly after, when I had the opportunity to work with the objects for another brief period of time. Indications concerning color, size, and density of temper are derived from visual examinations and estimates, not from scientific designations. In addition, my notes do not cover all sherds evenly. The resulting gaps

could not be filled due to the unavailability of the ceramic assemblage for re-examination. The resulting lacunae will be denoted by the word «unknown» when and as they occur in this report. Furthermore, because of the inaccessibility of the Hājīābād pottery, I have no opportunity to proceed with any technological analysis.

¹ Controversies exist even in case of ceramics from limited areas. For example in the Gorgan Plain the same ceramic has been dated from the Parthian to the mid-Sasanian periods. Some remarks of O. LECOMTE on this question are interesting. He writes: «Une mention spéciale doit pourtant être faite de la catégorie céramique que M. Kiani appelle «la céramique rouge de la période parthe» (KIANI 1982a, 28, fig. 21 et 29, fig. 22). Une partie au moins des formes présentées nous paraissent caractéristiques de la phase VIA à Tureng Tepe (extrémités obliques externes des lèvres des cruches) dont elles doivent être contemporaines (3e-5e s. ap. J.-C.)». («La céramique sassanide», p. 118).

² For major works on the Parthian and Sasanian pottery in Mesopotamia until 1970 see: VENCO RICCIARDI, «Sasanian Pottery from Tell Mahuz», p. 427 note 4. See also: EAD., «Sasanian Pottery from Choche», pp. 49-57.

³ For example, when Robert McC. Adams was planning his large scale reconnaissance in central Mesopotamia the dearth of information forced him to plan new excavations in order to «increase the precision with which ceramic surface collections (of the Sassanian period) in the area could be dated...» («Tell Abū Sarīfa, p. 87).

⁴ KEALL and KEALL, «The Qal'eh-i Yazdigird Pottery», pp. 33-80.

⁵ ALDEN, «Excavations at Tal-i Malyan», pp. 79-86.

⁶ WHITCOMB, *Before the Roses and Nightingales*.

⁷ LECOMTE, «La céramique sassanide».

⁸ WHITEHOUSE, «Excavations at Siraf, Third Interim Report», pp. 1-18; WHITEHOUSE and WILLIAMSON, «Sasanian Maritime Trade», pp. 29-49.

⁹ MAURER TRINKAUS, «Pottery from the Damghan Plain», pp. 23-88.

¹⁰ SAJJADI, «A Class of Sasanian Ceramics from Southwestern Iran», pp. 31-40.

¹¹ HAERINCK, *La céramique en Iran pendant la période parthe*.

However, a question mark (?) indicates unavailability of data due to the condition of the object under study and not because of a lacuna in the field notes. In the case of a vessel with a broken and missing rim, for example, the question mark will be introduced in front of the object in question under Rim

2 - THE ASSEMBLAGE

ties on or around the site.

About four percent of the Hajiabad assemblage (172 sherds; Table 2, Q 9, elevation 80) was uncovered in a small pit in square Q 9. The pit, labeled Locus 117 (hereafter: L. 117), was situated between 117 cm¹² and 62 cm above the datum, well above the floor of the building (which at this point is at about 5 cm) and well below the surface of the mound in this area (in average ca. 180 cm above the datum). In addition to the 172 sherds, the pit fill was composed of ash and a few pieces of bone.

The small size of the pit and its relative isolation from other sherd collections suggests that the pit may have been filled in a short period of time. If this hypothesis is correct, the pit's 172 sherds provide us with what probably is the most homogeneous group of sherds among the entire assemblage. For these reasons, sherds from L. 117 will be discussed separately in the present study. The discussion about L. 117 will be followed by an analysis of the remaining part of the assemblage. Finally, examples of the sherds collected from some of the surveyed sites will be presented. The inclusion of sherds from the surveyed sites in the present study is based on the assumption that they were contemporary with the Manor House. Reasons for this hypothesis has been given elsewhere in this work. Nevertheless, since these sherds do not represent the whole range of the pottery of the sherded sites they will not be included in the statistical tables. Plates showing sherds from these sites follow a geographical, rather than numerical, order, from north to south.

¹² The similarity between the locus no. 117 and the altitude 117 cm is accidental.

A total of four thousand and fifty-nine (4059) sherds was recovered from the fifty-nine partly or wholly excavated squares. Of these one hundred and twenty-six (126) were not kept. The total number of the sherds which were preserved and labeled is three thousand nine hundred and thirty three (3933-Table 2).

In studying the pottery of Hajiabad damages caused by the bulldozer must be also taken into consideration. Some of the fifty-nine excavated squares were so badly damaged that it was impossible for the expedition to decide if sherds uncovered in them were *in situ* or not. In some cases no floor was left. A total of twenty squares were better preserved, but even these did not escape the bulldozer and in many of these squares one part or another was damaged.

In only two areas a significant number of sherds was found on or close to the floor of the excavated building. However, these sherds were uncovered in an uncertain context and could not be firmly attributed to the period when the Manor House functioned. But, since the sherds were discovered on or very close to the floor, they could not have been deposited much later than this period. They probably accumulated between the period of the construction of the Manor House and its subsequent abandonment which occurred while the building was still standing. Furthermore, the absence of distinctive late Sassanian or early Islamic ceramics in the Hajiabad assemblage suggests that the deposition of sherds on the site did not extend to these periods.

Finally, some of the sherds uncovered in the course of the Hajiabad excavations may have found their way to the site through inclusion in mud bricks or through later activi-

3 - DEFINITION OF VARIABLES

The variables which will be used to define the Hājīābād ceramic assemblage are Form, Rim Shape, Fabric, Color, Decoration, and Size (Table 3). Form of the pottery is the primary consideration. All other variables are considered secondary and are taken into account in the classification of the pottery only when they can bring additional precisions.

Classification of forms is based on the proportions between the diameter of the opening and the depth of the vessel, moving from wide and shallow to narrow and deep¹³. Forms thus defined include the following eight categories; plates, everted bowls, bowls, pots, beakers, jars, jugs, and bottles (1 to 8). A stand, as the only example of particular forms, comes at the end of this category as the ninth group. In this catalogue these terms are used in the following senses:

- 1 - Plate: a shallow, circular vessel with flat bottom.
- 2 - Everted bowl: a vessel with an oblique body slightly everted outward and a flat bottom.
- 3 - Bowl: a rounded vessel, nearly hemispherical in form and generally deeper than a plate.
- 4 - Pot: a deep vessel with a vertical or slightly everted and rather thick body. Pots appear to have had convex bottoms.
- 5 - Beaker: a cup or drinking vessel with vertical or slightly everted body.
- 6 - Jar: a container with a short neck of varying width, with or without a handle.
- 7 - Jug: a deep container similar to a bottle but with a larger neck. Jugs are usually fitted with handles.
- 8 - Bottle: a container with a narrow mouth and a high neck.
- 9 - Stand: a flowerpot shape vessel with a slightly flaring body within a deep plate.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of much of the pottery under study, however, the decision about the form of most examples presented in this work, and consequently the attribution of these examples to one or another mor-

phological group, frequently depends upon visual comparison between these examples and the better preserved ones.

Sherds with imprecise or unidentifiable forms will be considered individually and in separate statistical tables. Statistical tables will be used to determine general characteristics of particular forms. Therefore, the inclusion of doubtful forms may adversely affect the results of the statistical analysis. The decision to treat sherds with an imprecise form attribution independently will also enable us to determine the characteristics of each sherd when compared with the particular features of different vessel types described by the statistical tables. These distinctive characteristics may then reveal the actual form group of the sherds.

Rim shapes include tapered rims, grooved rims, straight rims, triangular rims, and broad rims (a to e). These terms are used in the following sense:

- a - Tapered Rim: I use this term to refer to a narrowed rim, either ending in a pointed edge, or somewhat rounded. These rims can be vertical, slightly flaring, or bend inward.
- b - Grooved Rim: this category includes rims which are everted but which also bear a curved depression of varying depth. Such depressions sometimes have a crescent-shaped profile.
- c - Straight Rim: these rims usually continue the body of the vessel with little or no change. They end in a flat cut.
- d - Triangular Rim: these flaring rims are somewhat similar in profile to those of the preceding category. However, the upper surface may be curved.
- e - Broad Rim: this category includes rims which resemble a pick-hammer. These rims have different directions and could be vertical, oblique or horizontal.

¹³ According to suggestions made by BALFET, «Terminologie de la céramique», pp. 272-278.

red and buff-colored spots, and so forth. Finally, in addition to the surface color I will also mention the color of the body and that of the inner surface if this differs from the outer surface of the body. In this case the colors will be mentioned in the above-mentioned order, separated from one another by a slash (/).

Decoration: The techniques used to decorate the Hajiabad pottery may be divided into two groups:

A - Altering Techniques (a to c): This group consists of those techniques which change the surface of the pottery or the shape of the body by the following methods:

a - Relief elements. This subgroup is limited to bands or ribs which are either part of the body or applied. In the first case, the undulations of the outer surface decoration are sometimes reflected through the pottery onto the inner surface, thus making some minor changes in the actual body shape. On the other hand, the applied ribs only alter the surface of the vessel and do not change the body shape. These ribs usually have a grooved or concave surface.

b - Incised patterns. These patterns include lines, straight or meandering bands of various widths, rows of triangles, cross-hatching; combed designs placed parallel to one another or used to form a cross-hatch; triangles with sides formed from lines and with cross hatched tips; notched dots in parallel vertical or horizontal rows or even in disorder; short, oblique parallel bars in rows aligned in similar or opposite directions; chevrons and so forth.

c - A combination of a and b. This subgroup consists of decoration which combines the two previous techniques. It includes notched dots of various sizes placed on straight relief bands, rows of incised oblique bars above one or several narrow relief bands, oblique bars incised in opposite directions on flat, parallel ribs separated from one another by a narrow relief band, and rows of small upside-down triangles on a flat rib.

Fabric categories: My preliminary observations show that the pottery from Hajiabad was entirely grit tempered. Small holes were sometimes noted in the profile as if indicating the remains of vegetal inclusions. I found no trace of straw or chopped vegetal inclusion. Inclusions are of different colors, mainly black and white. Since it proved impossible to analyze the Hajiabad pottery, nothing can be said about the nature of these minerals. There are five categories (a to e) of pottery fabric:

a - Very coarse, grit tempered (the diameter of the particles is up to 5 mm): In these cases the surface of the pottery is full of holes created by the missing grits.

b - Coarse grit tempered.
c - Medium grit tempered.
d - Fine grit tempered.
e - Very fine grit tempered.

The very fine grit tempered pottery includes sherds made from a highly homogeneous paste. The inclusions in these sherds are hardly visible. The degree to which inclusions are visible define the remaining four groups, placing them between a very coarse and a very fine pastes.

Color: there are five major color variations (a to e):

a - Gray
b - Buff
c - Red
d - Black
e - Miscellaneous

The first four categories include various shades of the colors indicated. Grays are limited to dark and light gray. Black includes shades ranging from actual black to very dark gray. Red is frequently brick red and sometimes violet. Buff has the widest range of shades: pinkish, greenish, grayish...

The last or miscellaneous color category was probably produced by lack of effective control over the firing process. This group may therefore be a by-product of the others. Among the miscellaneous group one finds sherds with brick-red surface and large, blackish stains, sherds of a light gray marked with

B - Non-altering Techniques: These techniques, which include three subgroups (a to c), do not alter the shape of the pottery or its surface.

a - The most frequently used non-altering techniques is painting. The paint is usually ochreous red, sand brown on buff or very dark gray. In one case white, or, more precisely, a milk tone, is used on a black surface. Red is homogeneously applied on the surface of the vessels, and is sometimes found covering both inner and outer surfaces.

b - Glazed sherds have also been found at Hājiābād. The color of the glaze is the usual blue/green and it is rough and porous in quality. Both the inner and outer surfaces of vessels were frequently glazed.

c - Slip and burnish were also used as the final surface treatment for some vessels. The slip has the same buff or gray color as that of the pottery body¹⁴.

¹⁴ For lack of more precise information, however, it would often be impossible for me to single out individual sherds decorated through these techniques.

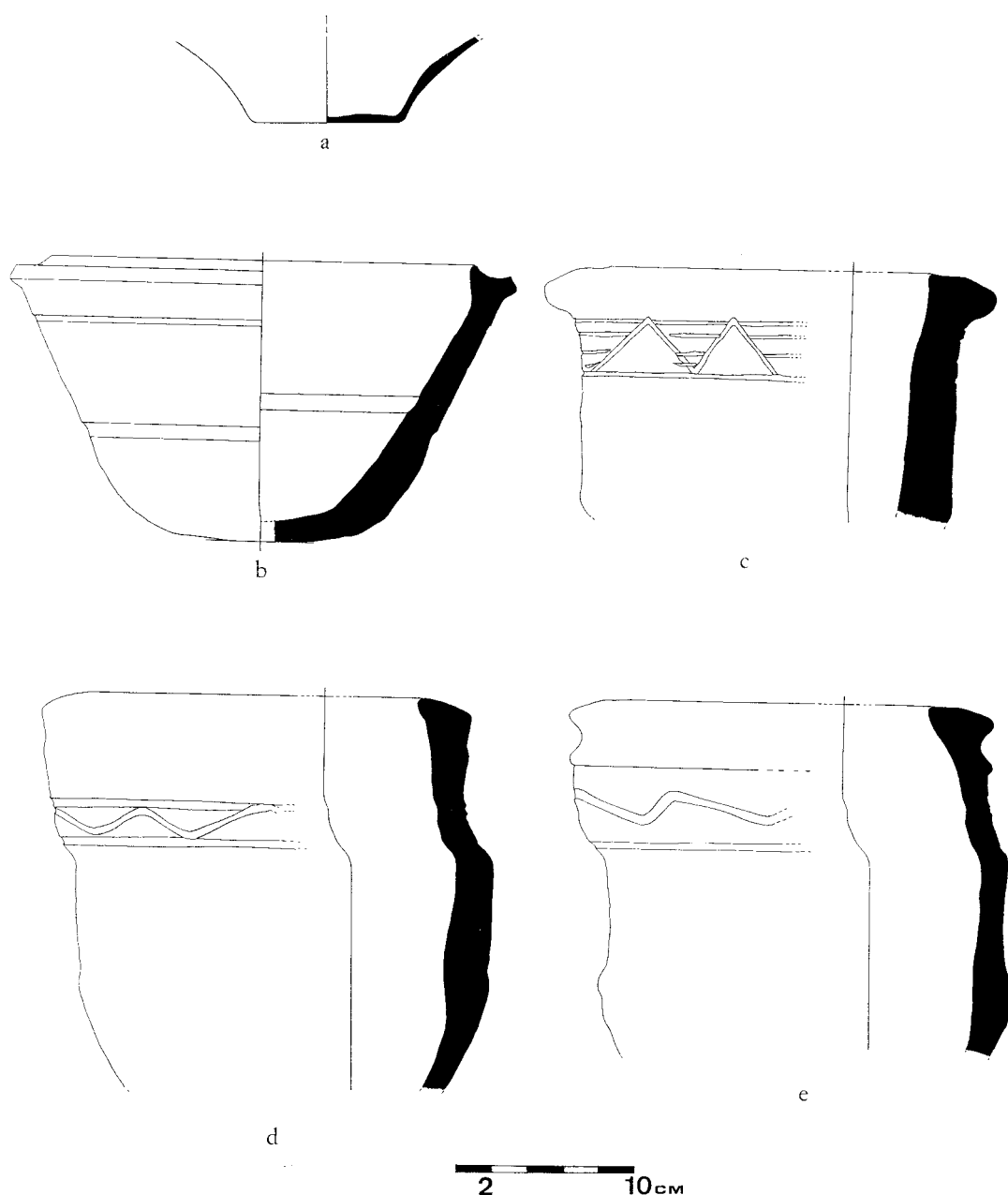


Fig. 163 - Ceramics from L. 117 (table 4).

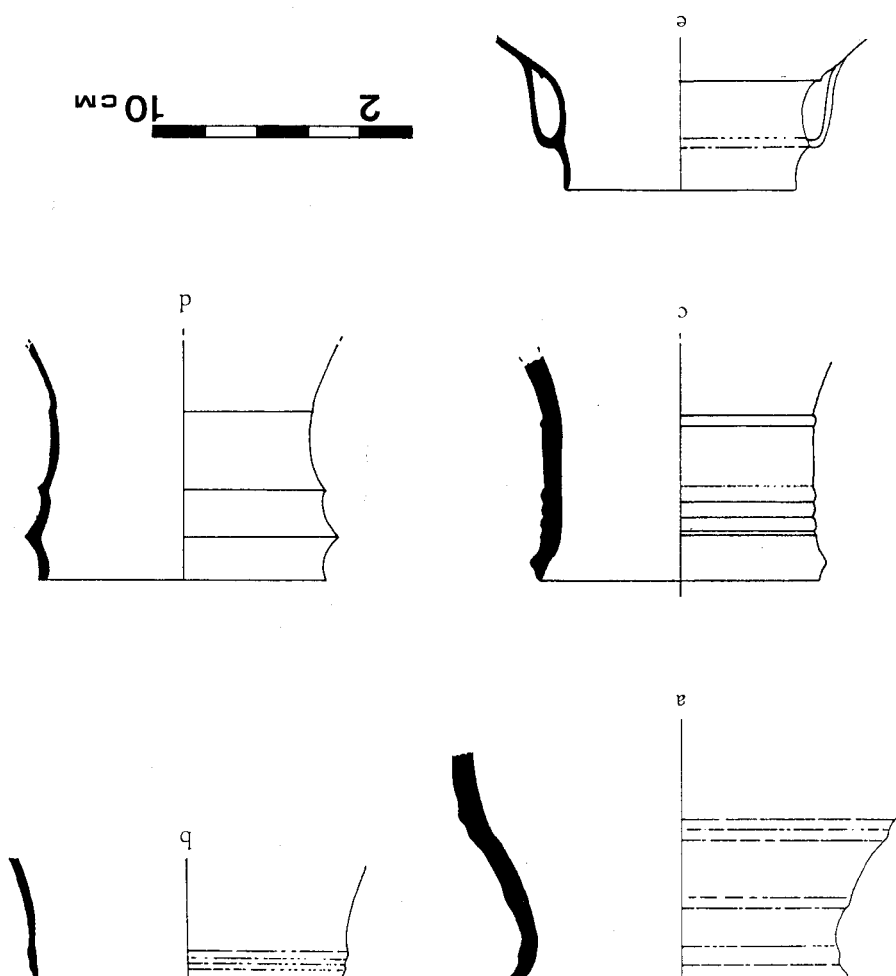


Fig. 164 - Ceramics from L. 117 (table 5).

C - A combination of Altering and non- Altering Techniques.

Size: Along with information concerning other variables, the following measurements will be given; the diameter of the opening of the vessel, the thickness of the body and, if available, the diameter of the bottom. In the tables describing the characteristics of the ceramics and in the statistical tables (tables 4-26) a slash (/) will separate these figures from one another¹⁵.
If the rim of the vessel is broken or its diameter could not be measured only the thickness of the body will be noted. In this case a question mark replaces the missing figure.
In order to use the information concerning this variable statistically, I have divided it into

Group A - Diameter of rim and bottom
subgroups; a - up to 10 cm.
b - 10 to 15 cm.
c - 15 to 20 cm.
d - 20 to 25 cm.
e - 25 to 30 cm.
f - more than
30 cm.

¹⁵ Some of the profiles reproduced in figures 163-165, 170-190 and Pls. D-G have been drawn during the excavation by my colleague Miss Shahin 'Atafi. Miss 'Atafi has regularly used a 1/2 and, in the case of pieces belonging to large potteries, 1/4 scale. I have drawn the remaining profiles myself, using a 1/1 scale. To obtain harmonious proportional drawings I had to first redraw Miss 'Atafi's drawings to 1/1 and, once the classification

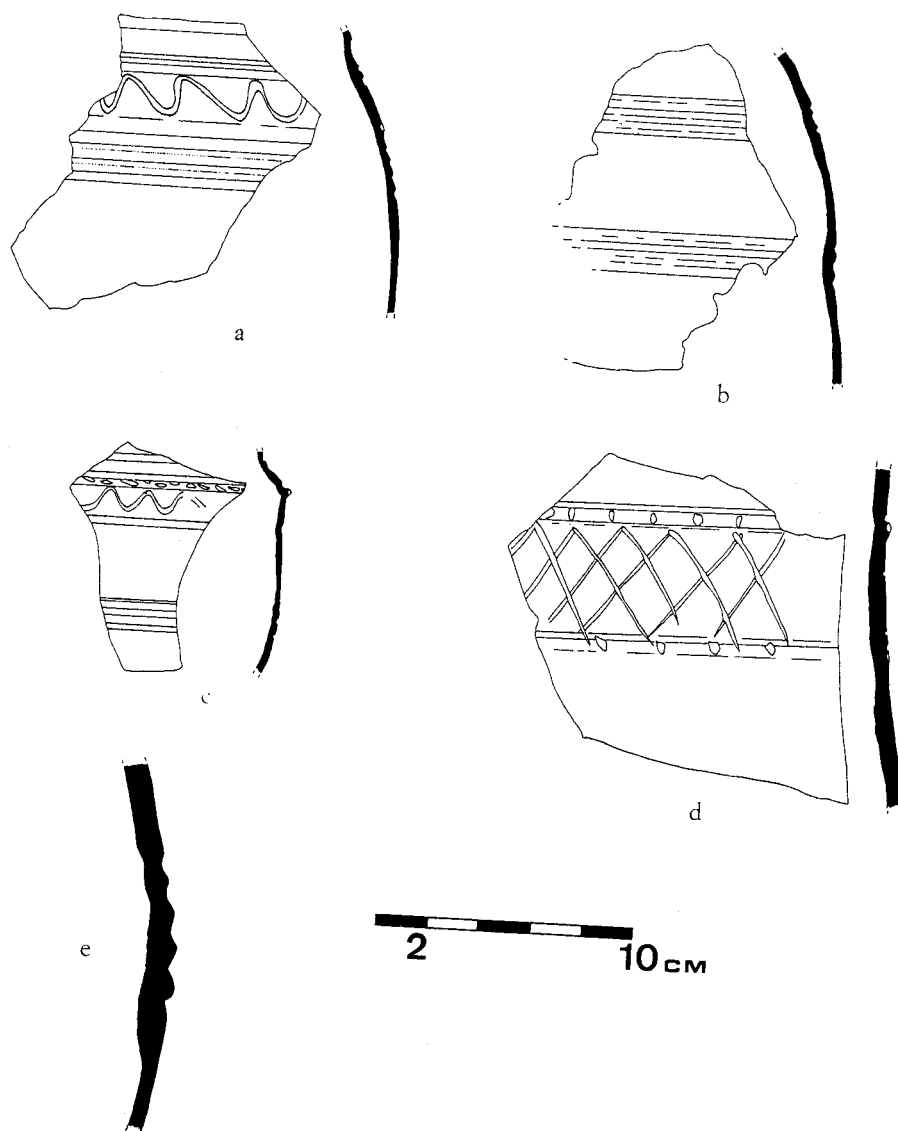


Fig. 165 - Ceramics from L. 117 (table 6).

Group B - Thickness of the body subgroups; a - up to 5 mm.
b - 5 to 10 mm.
c - 10 to 15 mm.
d - 15 to 20 mm.
e - 20 to 25 mm.
f - 25 to 30 mm.

A comparative inventory of sherds from Hājīābād and the sherded sites will be added to the end of the lists which accompany each figure (163-165, 170-190)¹⁶. This inventory consists of excavation labels (catalogue numbers), the area in which the sherd has been

found (squares or sites) and, in the case of the sherds from the Manor House, the elevation. The hope is that such an inventory will make the task of those who wish to further study these ceramics and who may have access to the assemblage easier. A general morphological classification of all sherds, regardless of their provenance, is presented in plates D-G.

of the pottery was decided, reduce the size of all the profiles.

¹⁶ Abbreviation on the column of «Field label» from figures 182-190 (Tables 21-26) represent the sherded

4 - THE MANOR HOUSE

a. Locus 117

two examples (d-e) is their thicker body.

b. The general assemblage

Locus 171 is a corridor with north-south direction running along the eastern side of courtyard 178, parallel to the eastern corridor of eyvån 149 (Pl. A). Traces of ash were observed along almost the entire length of the corridor from about 9 cm above the datum down to the floor (at about - 1 cm). Although few sherds were uncovered in this corridor in the layer above 9 cm, a higher density of sherds was found within the ashy layer covering the floor as the excavation continued. This change in sherd density was both spatial and locational. While few sherds were found in the northern and southern extremities of the corridor, in squares L 13 and M-L16 (respectively 2 and 7 sherds), and only seventeen (17) sherds came from square L15¹⁷ along the corridor, the segment of the corridor within the limits of square L 14 yielded a total of hundred, and eighty-three (183) sherds. As I have already mentioned the ash layer containing the high number of sherds lay above the unpaved floor of the corridor (at - 1 cm or slightly lower) and may have belonged to the period between the construction and the abandonment of the building. However, one important factor reduces the probability of this hypothesis; no trace of fire was observed, either on the walls of the corridor or in the earth fill, showing that the deposit of ash did not result from a conflagration, for example, from the burning of the roof beams along the corridor, assuming of course, that the roof was flat.

sites in the following order: Ch. Sa. (Site 21) Q. Sh. S. (Site 19) Ch. S. (Site 17) Q. S. K. (Site 15) Sh. Dj. 1 (Site 10) Sh. Dj. 2 (Site 7). Also following abbreviations occasionally appear in almost all the lists of sherds which accompany each figure: Black. (= Blackish) Brown. (= Brownish) Fl. (= Floral) Paral. (= Parallel) Red. (= Reddish) S. (= Surface) Str. (= Straight) Undu. (= Undulating) Whit. (= Whittish).
¹⁷ The only two sherds from L15 reproduced in this work, Figs 180-181 and Table 19, w and ab, are from a higher elevation.

The fifteen sherds and incomplete vessels depicted in figures 163-165 (Tables 4-6) are all from L. 117, a homogeneous pit fill located in square Q 9 (see p. 183). Of the fifteen sherds, ten have recognizable forms (Figs. 163-164, Tables 4-5). One form, the everted bowl (?), is represented by only one example, too insignificant a number to reach any conclusion about the general characteristics of this form. The other two forms present in the fill, the pot and the jar, are represented by four (4) and five (5) examples respectively. The larger representation of these forms enables to determine their common traits summarized in table 7 (The Statistical Table of Precise Forms from L. 117).

The most outstanding characteristics of the pots may be summarized as follows: although of various shades, the pots (Fig. 163, Table 4) are all (4 examples) buff in color. Three out of four pots have a very coarse fabric (Fig. 163 b-d). Their most common decorative pattern consists of simple incisions (3 examples). The body of most of these vessels (3 examples) is over twenty (20) mm thick (Fig. 163,c-e). Moreover, the majority of the pots (3 examples) have a triangular rim.

The jars (Fig. 164, Table 5) display two strikingly consistent characteristics: they are all of medium coarse fabric (5 examples) and they bear relief decorations (5 examples). With only one exception (Fig. 164,c) the bodies of the jars are less than five (5) mm thick. A tapered rim is another of the jars' outstanding characteristics, three examples (Fig. 164 a-b, e) have a rim of this type.

The five sherd examples in the imprecise form category (Fig. 165, Table 6) clearly fall into two groups (Table 8). The first three examples (a-c) share the following characteristics; they are made from a fine fabric and their bodies are less than five (5) mm thick. Two of these examples (a and b) are decorated with incised bands, while two other (c-d) bear combined relief and incised decorative patterns.

The only common characteristic of the last

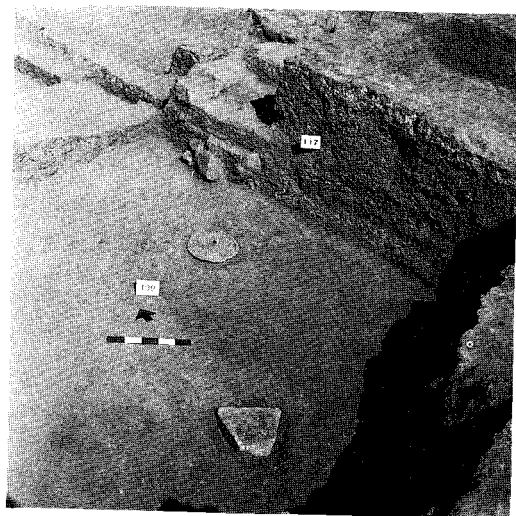


Fig. 166 - Unit 132 with grindstone and an embedded (?) ceramic.

Two other interesting elements are also associated with the sherds and ash layer. Seventeen (17) iron nails were found inside the corridor behind pier L. 168 (northern end of wall 125). Five of these were uncovered at about 9 cm above the datum and 12 others at the level of the floor, i.e. - 1 cm. Iron nails were found in several areas of the building in association with stucco decorations and murals. Thus, the presence of these nails in corridor 171 sug-

gests that the accumulation of ash in this area may have occurred in connection with the decoration of the building. However, the presence of several pieces of bone demonstrates that food may have been produced and/or consumed in the corridor. Nevertheless, neither of these activities can reasonably justify the presence of ash along almost the entire length of the corridor.

No stratigraphic separation was observable within the thin layer of ashy earth containing sherds. We may, therefore, conclude that there was no chronological gap between these two periods. Only two examples from the sherds found in this corridor appear among the drawings (Fig. 175,f - Table 14 and Fig. 176,b - Table 15). These pieces demonstrate no particular inconsistencies with the comparable forms from the site. It is impossible to come to any conclusion at this stage as regards to their probable chronological differences. No final conclusion can be reached and I can only surmise that while iron nails and some pottery were deposited in the corridor during the construction period and the following works of decorating the building, more ash and sherds found their way into the unit immediately after the abandonment of the House.

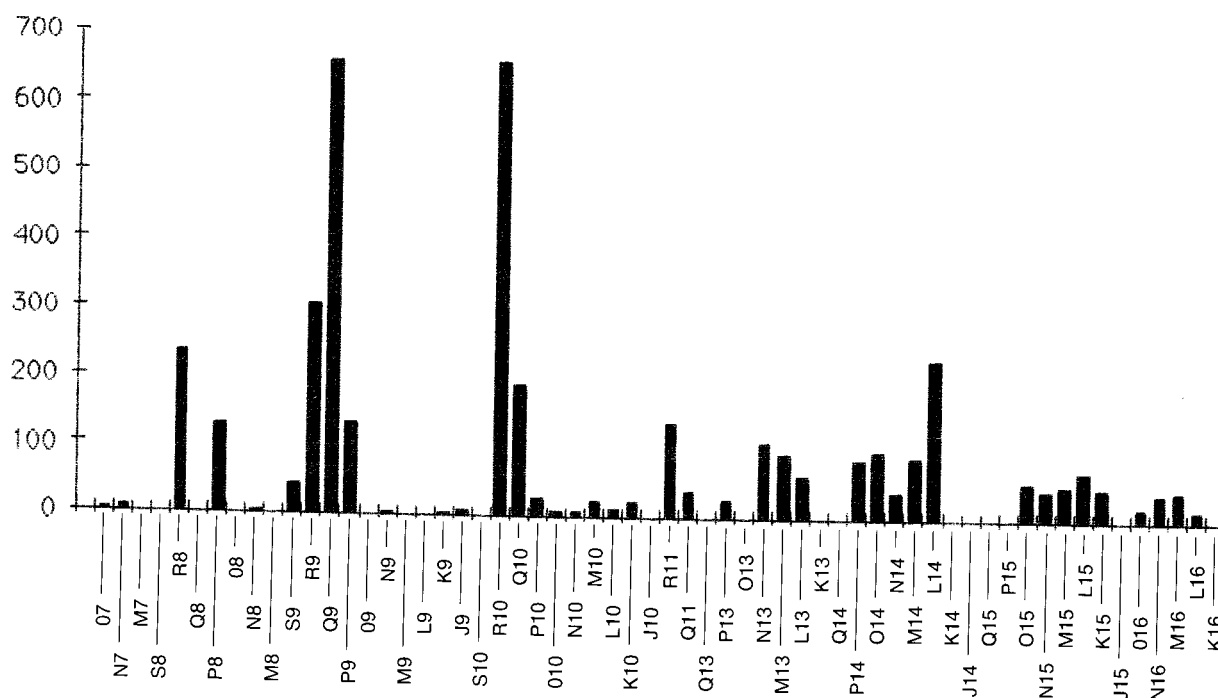


Fig. 167 - Chart of sherd density of the excavated site (site 1).

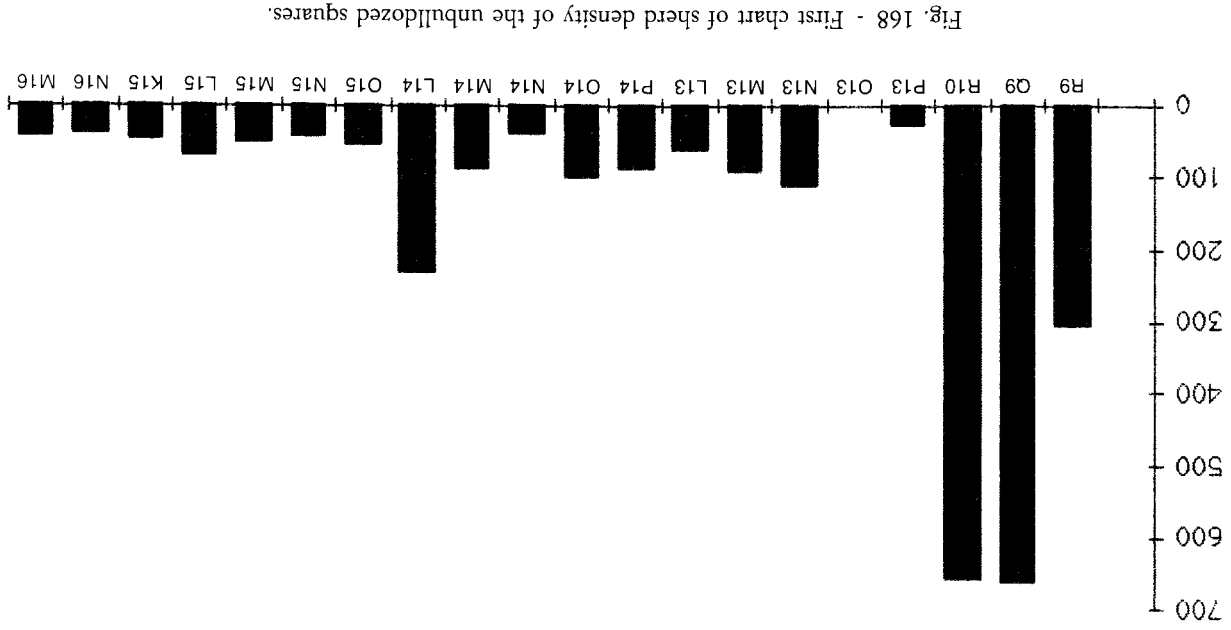


Fig. 168 - First chart of sherd density of the unbulldozed squares.

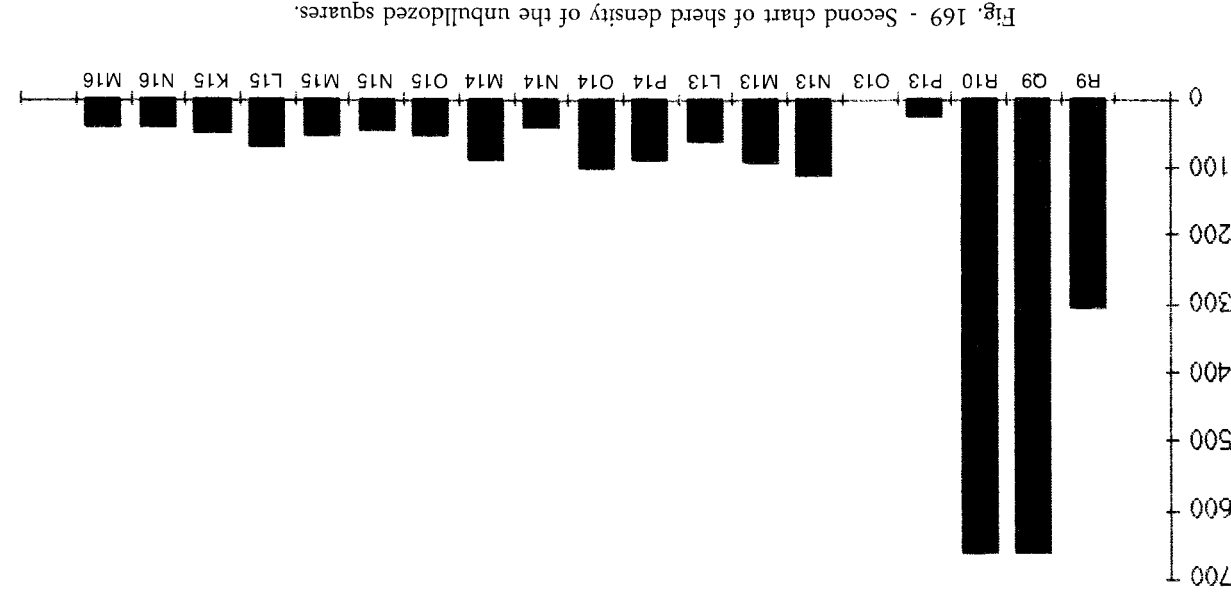


Fig. 169 - Second chart of sherd density of the unbulldozed squares.

The situation in squares Q-5-8-11 is uncertain. As was previously discussed (ch. III) the work was not yet completed in these squares by the end of the season. Many things remained to be done in this quarter and in the adjacent areas, including more stratigraphic investigations¹⁸. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the construction of this section of the building was never finished. The general characteristics of the units excavated in the above-mentioned squares are similar to those of Section B; had the construction been completed, we should probably have come across

small courtyards with plastered sidewalks. At least some of the units in this area seem to have been used as workshops by the artists, the plasterers, or the other professionals still at work in the building at the time of abandonment. If this hypothesis is correct, then the sixteen (16) sherds recovered from within locus 126a and a single example found in

¹⁸ Point D, to the south of these squares, was chosen for this purpose. This is the largest of the four better preserved areas of the mound.

L. 126b belonged to the very period of the construction of the Manor House. Unfortunately these pieces lack distinctive features and therefore do not provide any information about the shape or decoration of the ceramics of the period.

The situation in L. 132, the unit to the north of L. 126, was similar. There too, remains in connection with the continuation of work were uncovered. These included a kiln, a grindstone still covered with red paint, and of particular interest, a pot (Fig. 166). The pot was of a buff color and 38 cm in diameter. It appeared to have been embedded in the floor of L. 132. At the end of the season the decision was made to leave the pot *in situ* till the

next season. It is therefore not known if the pot was plain or decorated. This pot was the only ceramic that could be dated with some degree of confidence to the period of the construction of the Manor House.

After the Manor House was abandoned and had partially collapsed it was used first as a dumping area and then as an occasional cemetery (see p. 39, note 2). Dumping was particularly intensive in the quarter under discussion, to the north west of the site. This higher percentage of sherd density is clearly observable in figure 167 where squares R-Q 9-10 are shown to have produced almost 50% of the entire assemblage. These squares were all par-

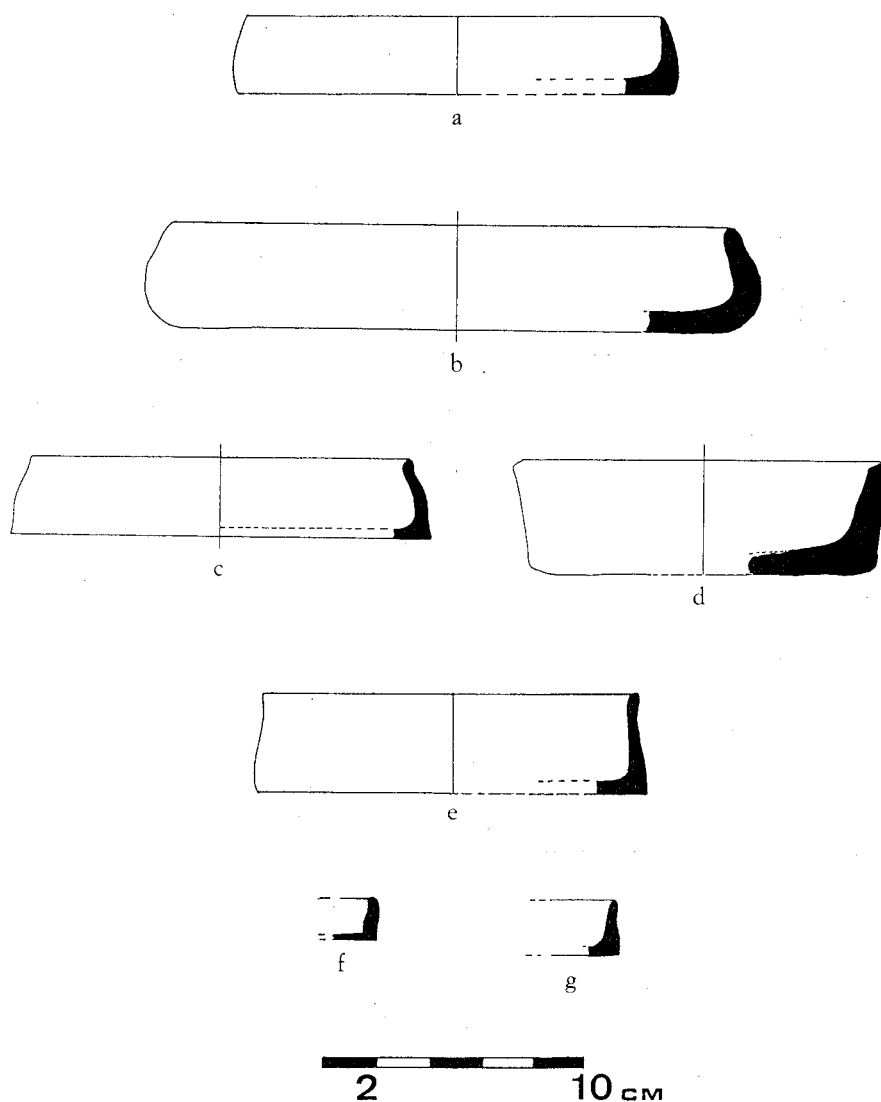


Fig. 170 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 9).

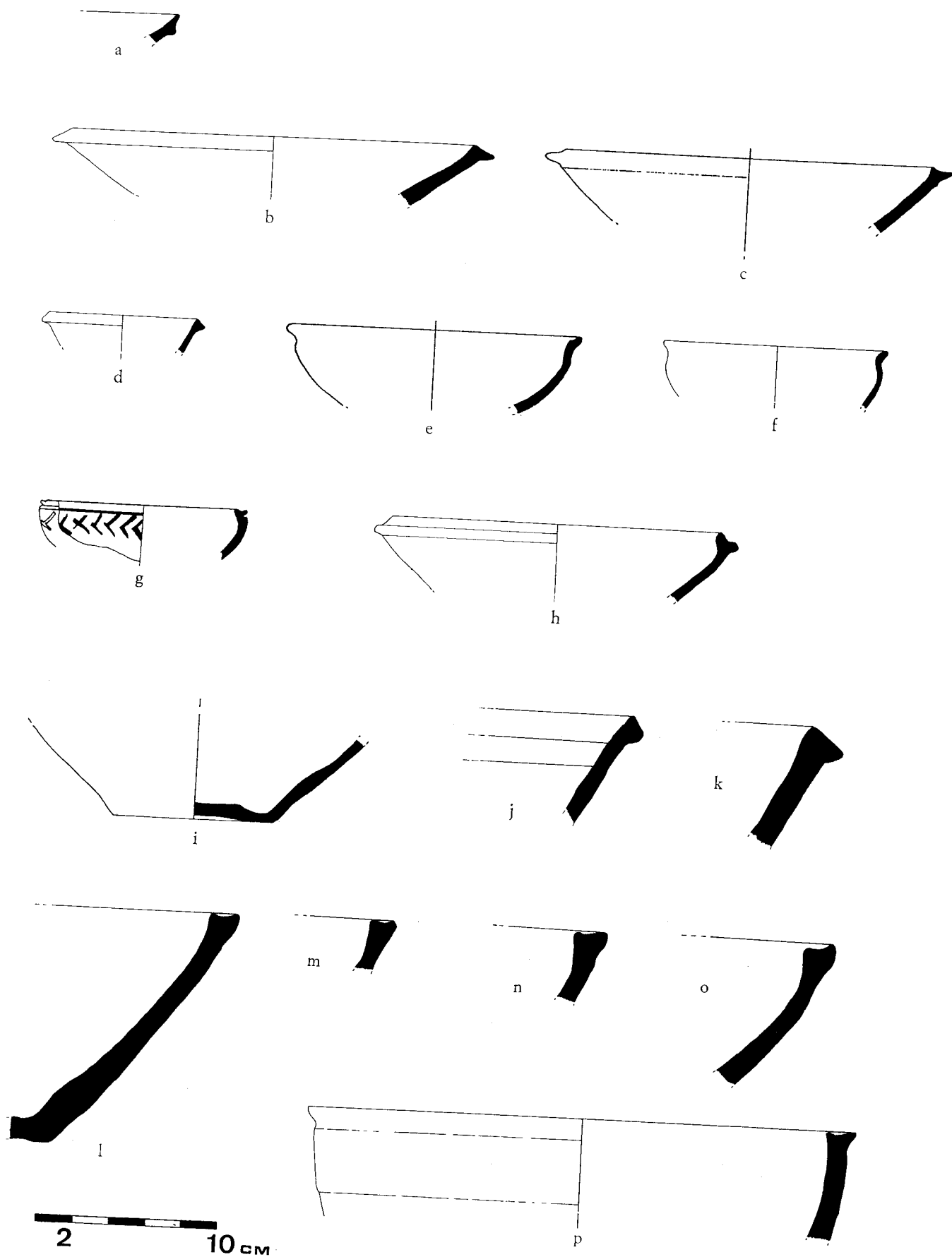


Fig. 171 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 10).

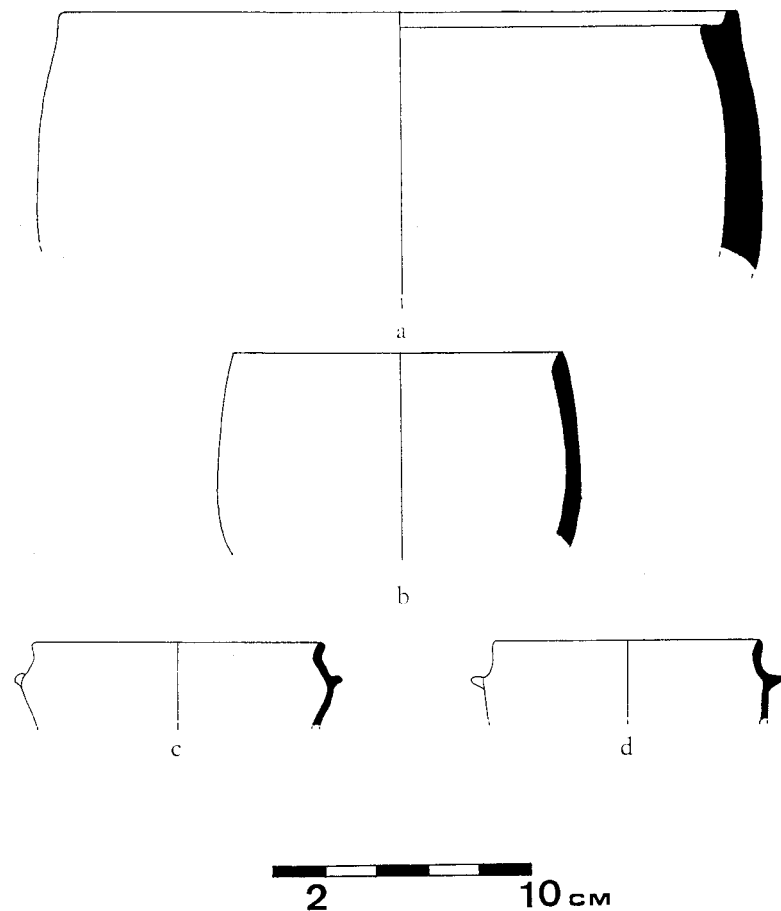


Fig. 172 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 11).

tially damaged by the bulldozer, otherwise a still higher percentage of sherds might have been discovered there. The table of the distribution of sherds throughout the site (Table 2), also shows that in all the well preserved squares sherds were more or less homogeneously distributed through the entire height of the mound under the surface layer. However, in squares Q-R 9-10 the sherds were mostly concentrated in the level between 120 cm and 20 cm above the datum; throughout the rest of the squares' elevation the sherds' distribution was quite similar to that observed in the remaining part of the site. Moreover, it appears that, with the exception of square L 14 (locus 171, discussed above) the number of sherds gradually drops from west-northwest to east-southeast. Figure 168 shows the percentage of sherds in the unbulldozed central squares (most of Section B, courtyard 178, and eyvân 149). Square L 14 (L. 171) represents an abnormality in this pattern. The sug-

gested gradual change in density of sherds from northwest to southeast can be best observed in figure 169 where L 14 is taken out. Here the highest figures are those of Q-R 9 & R 10. It is, therefore, clear that the northwest of the mound was the location for some type of activity which resulted in this high sherds accumulation. A section of a broken circular (?) plate in plaster (probably ca. 50 cm in diameter and ca. 8 cm in thickness) with a central hole found in square R10 and in the level of high sherd density, may be all that has survived of a potter's wheel. It is possible that Locus 117 was also a pit close to a kiln. However, no trace of this kiln or any related construction could be found. If it did exist, it must have been totally bulldozed. At this stage of our knowledge about the site the best surmise is that when the building collapsed part of it was used for some kind of artisanal activity, such as pottery making, while the still partially standing units in the northwest of

the building were used as dumping areas.

Figures 170 (Table 9) to 178 (Table 17) show eighty six (86) sherds of precise forms. These forms cover all nine groups suggested in the definition of the variables, from plate to stand, with everted bowl, bowl, pot, beaker, jar, jug, and bottle in between (Table 3).

The seven examples of plate category (Fig. 170) are consistent in two characteristics; in the form of the rims (Table 18), which is of the tapered category (all seven examples) and in lacking decorations (again all seven examples). They are mostly black and seemingly of a size between 10 and 15 cm in diameter. This rather small size of most plates suggests that some of them may be lids.

Most of the everted bowls from the Manor House (16 examples, Fig. 171 - Table 10) are undecorated (13 examples) and buff (9 examples) and half of them (8 examples) have grooved rims.

As is mentioned above the primary criterion for the classification of the pottery in this study is the proportion between the diameter of the opening and the depth of the ceramics. Ceramics in figure 171 are, therefore, labeled as everted bowls because the diameter of their opening is more than their (presumed) depth. Secondary criteria, nevertheless, demonstrate that the ceramics labeled here as everted bowls (Fig. 171) belong to at least two subgroups. The large size and thick bodies of ceramics l to p (Fig. 171), and especially their grooved rim (into which a lead could more easily be fitted) suggest that these and similar vessels may have been cooking vessels or braziers while a, e, and f (Fig. 171) with their smaller size, thinner body, and particularly their tapered rim may have been table or drinking vessels. The first subgroup, therefore, could be classified as pots (compare with Fig. 163,b) and hereafter will be referred to as such. However, no generalization can be made since some of the everted bowls demonstrate one or another of the characteristics of both sub-groups; ceramic d (Fig. 171 - Dia. 8 cm, Th. B. 3.5 mm), for example, has the same profile as k (Fig. 171 - Dia. 41 cm, Th. B. 13.5 mm). For this reason neither of the two subgroups could be gathered under more convenient labels as everted bowls and pots

which reflect both their forms and functions.

All four examples of bowls (Fig. 172 - Table 11) are undecorated and three of them (b-d) have tapered rim. Ceramics c and d in this group are furnished with handles which, together with the smaller size of these potteries (Dia. respectively 11 and 10 cm) may suggest their function as cups rather than bowls.

Jars (Fig. 174 - Table 13 and Fig. 175 - Table 14) comprise over fifty-four percent (54%) of the total number of the precise forms (40 out of the 74 examples). A high number of jars are similar in three respects:

- The thickness of body: twenty-eight (28) examples are of subgroup Aa (5 mm or less);
- The shape of rim: twenty (20) examples have a triangular rim shape;
- The decoration: twenty (20) examples have decoration only in relief.

My studies also demonstrate that over forty-seven percent (47%/19 examples) of jars have openings between ten to fifteen (10-15) centimeter wide. The fabric category of thirteen (13) examples among the jars is unfortunately unknown. From the remaining twenty-seven the majority (14 examples) have a medium type fabric. The dominant color among the jars tend to be black (15 examples), and the buff comes next (9 examples).

Within this wide range of jars from the general assemblage, nevertheless, tighter subgroups can be recognized. Potteries k-o from figure 175 represent a harmonious subgroup.

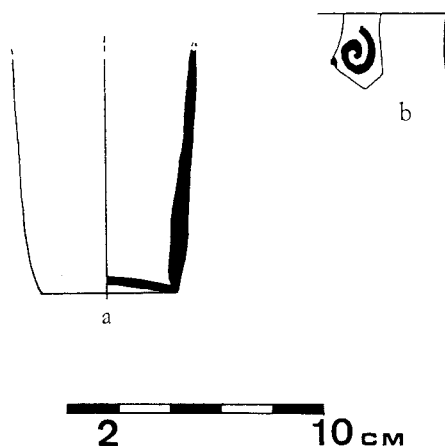


Fig. 173 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 12).

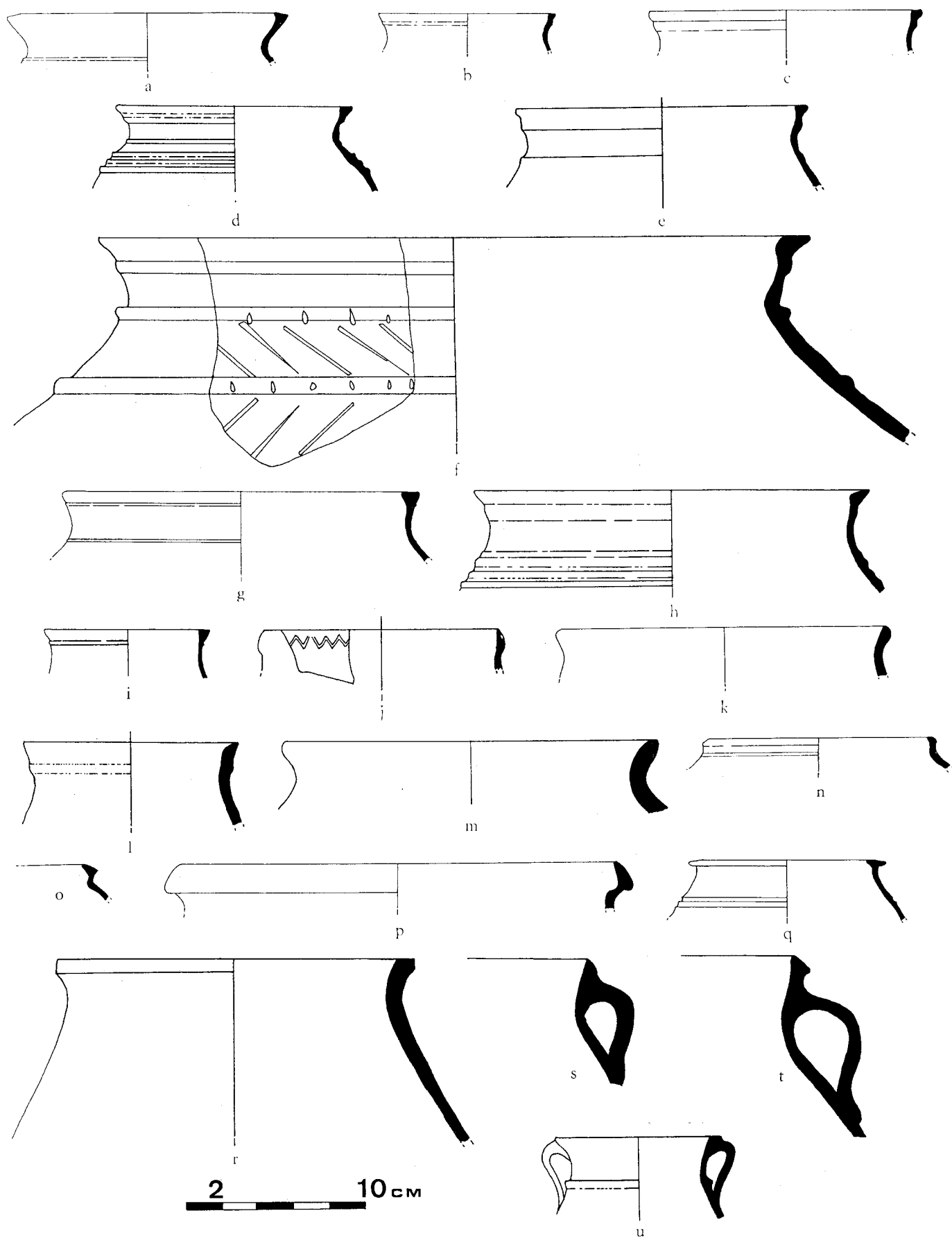


Fig. 174 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 13).

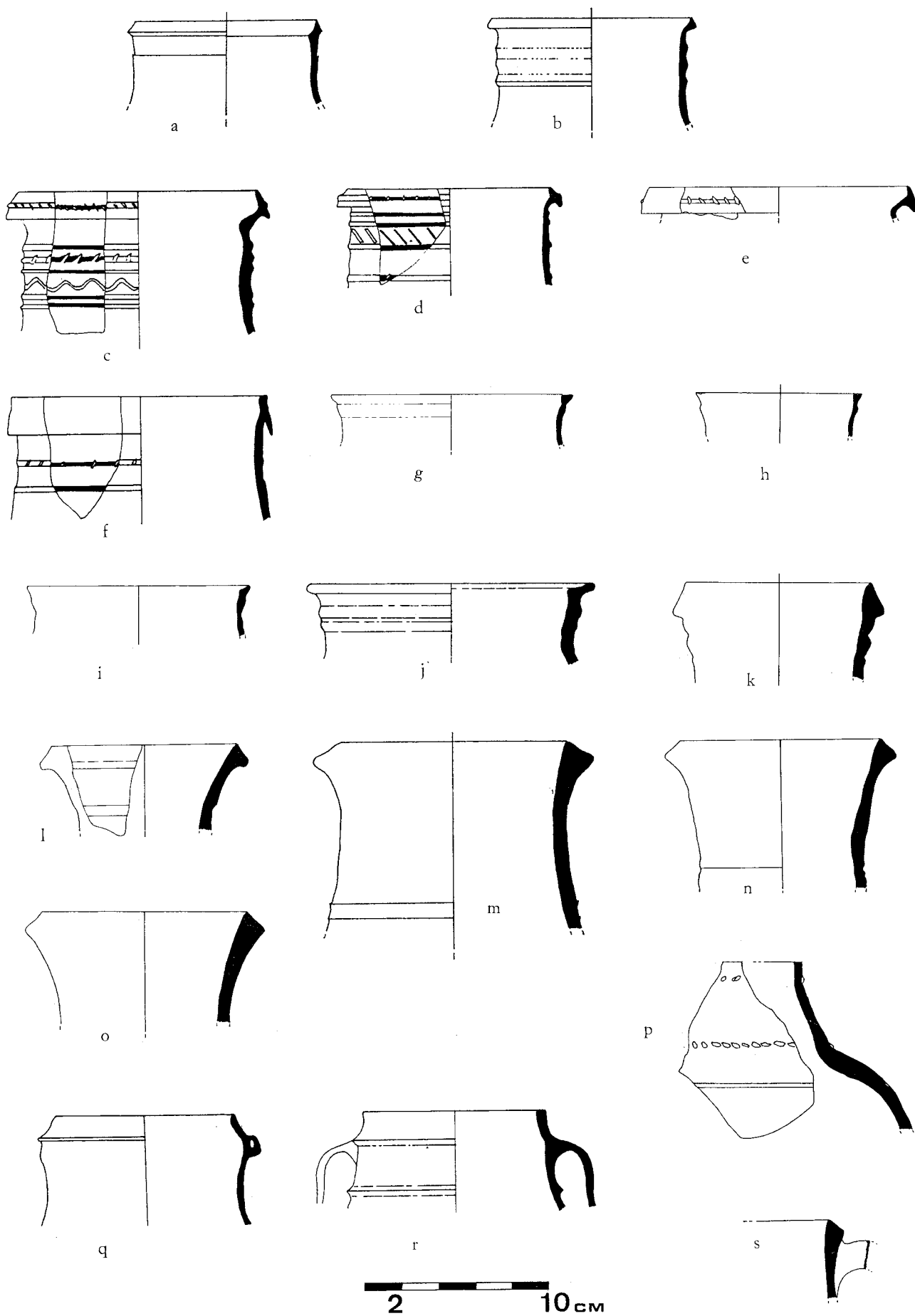


Fig. 175 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 14).

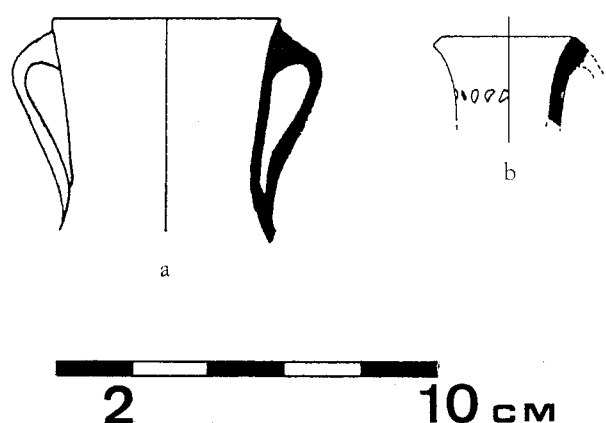


Fig. 176 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 15).

They have triangular rims, rather narrower openings (10 to 12 cm) and relatively thicker bodies (5.5 to 7 mm). Four of the five examples in this subgroup are buff and when they

are decorated, the decoration consists of rather wide relief bands.

Ceramics c-f from figure 175 constitute a second subgroup. All these sherds are black (or very dark gray considered as black) and have broad rim. They have slightly wider openings (11 to 14 cm) and their body is markedly thinner (2.5 to 4 mm) than the previous sub-group. Moreover, not only are all the sherds from the second subgroup decorated, but the type of their decoration is very different from that of the previous subgroup. Here, the more densely organized decoration consists of both relief and incised motifs.

Different characteristics of the two subgroups may suggest different functions, a phenomenon especially observable in the shapes of these ceramics. The narrowing neck in the first subgroup, in contrast to the vertical (Fig.

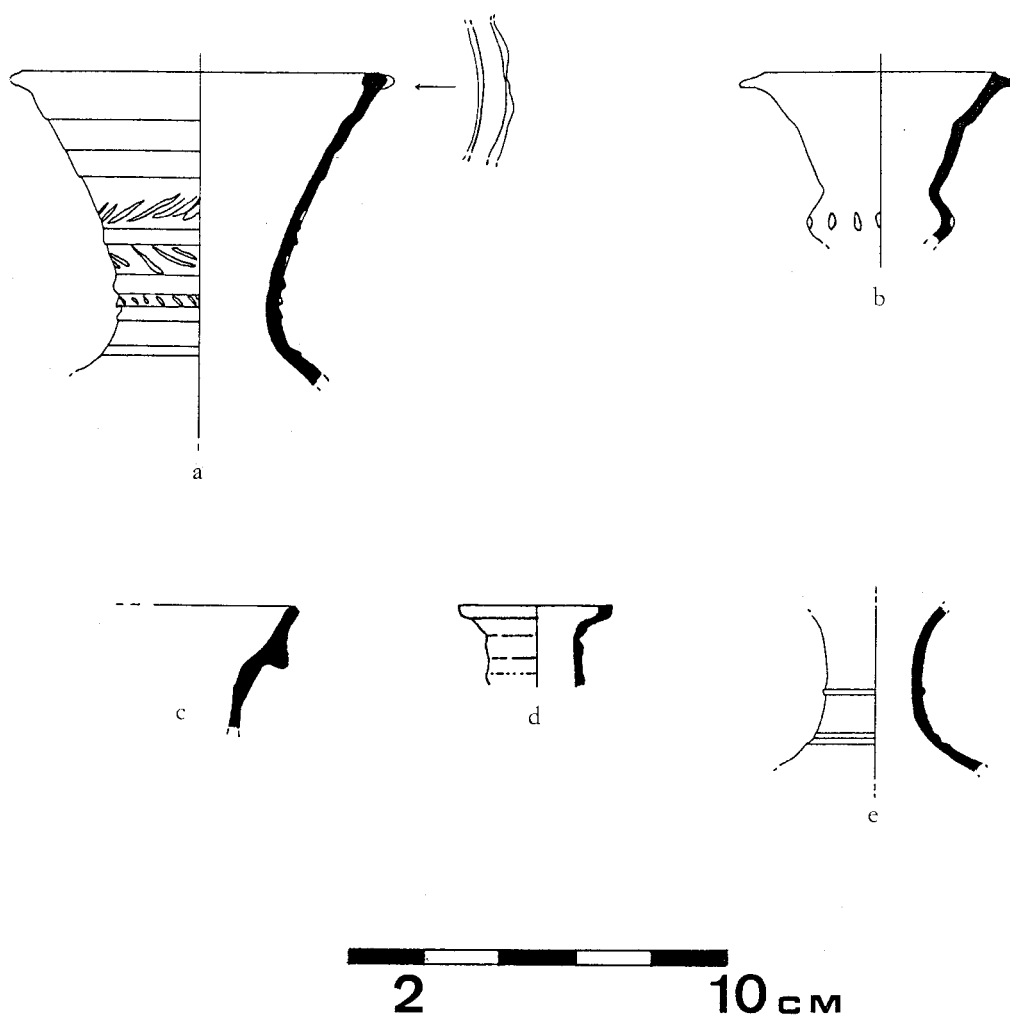


Fig. 177 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 16).

175,c-d) or even enlarging (Fig. 175,f) necks of the second subgroup, suggests that the first subgroup may have been made for holding liquids, and consequently functioned more as jugs than jars, although jugs are suggested to have had handles.

In spite of their small number (5 examples, Fig. 177 - Table 16) the bottles exhibit a tendency towards some common features. These are fabric (medium: 2 examples), color (black: 2 examples), decoration (relief: 2 examples), and size (3 examples have a diameter less than 10 cm – and all five examples have bodies less than 5 mm thick).

The remaining three groups of the vessels listed under the precise forms, i.e. beaker (Fig. 173 - Table 12), jug (Fig. 176 - Table 15), and stand (Fig. 178 - Table 17) are numerically too few to be statistically significant¹⁹.

Plate, bowl, beaker, jug, bottle, and stand were not present in L. 117. Moreover, the rim of the only everted bowl (?) from L. 117 (Fig. 163,a) is missing. Thus, a comparison between the pottery from this pit and the general assemblage will be limited to the pots and jars.

Only one pot from L. 117 (Fig. 163,b) has several features in common with the majority of the other pots from the site (Fig. 171,l-o). These include the shape of the rim and the body and surface colors. Even its decorative pattern, consisting of two very shallow incised bands, is simple enough to be ignored or compared with somewhat similar but irregular (and accidental ?) features on some of the examples from the general assemblage; for example figure 171,p. Thus the other three examples of the pots from L. 117 (Fig. 163 c-e) remain unrepresented in the General Assemblage. This type of pot is also absent from the assemblage of the sherded sites²⁰.

The majority of the jars from the two groups, L. 117 and the General Assemblage (Tables 7 and 18), share several characteristics including the fabric (medium), the decoration (relief), and the size (Dia; between 10 and 15 cm and Th. B. less than 5 mm). Being of a black color may also be added to these common features. In both cases this color is dominant. The majority of the jars of L. 117 and the General Assemblage, nevertheless, differ

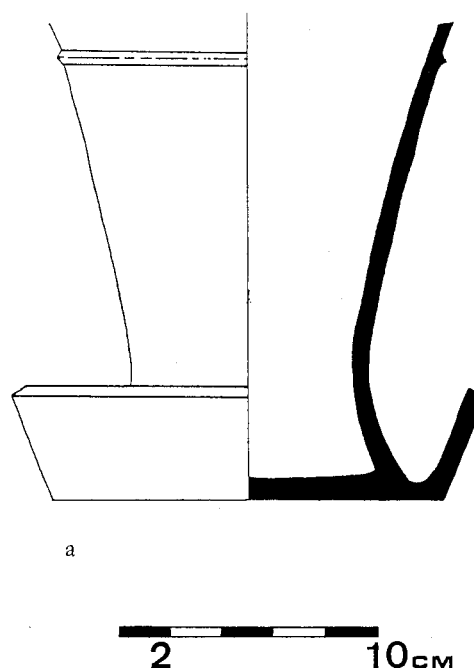


Fig. 178 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 17).

in one respect; the shape of their rim, which is predominantly triangular in the General Assemblage and tapered in L. 117.

The difference between the two groups of the jars may be accidental or caused by a misinterpretation of the data due for example to the limited number of these vessels in L. 117. However, this discrepancy becomes significant only if added to a similar problem arising from the comparison between the pots from the two groups of sherds. Together they may raise interesting questions about the eventuality of chronological differences between L. 117 and the General Assemblage as well as the *raison d'être* of L. 117. These variations seem to support, in spite of the absence of recognizable wasters among the sherds of this pit, the hypothesis that L. 117 probably was a pit in connection with a potter's workshop. The preference for tapered rim jars may have

¹⁹ For imprecise forms from the General Assemblage see Figs. 180-181 and Tables 19-20.

²⁰ I would like to emphasize here, once again, that sherds shown in this chapter as samples from various visited sites are not representative of the entire samples present on these sites. This is particularly true of the «Sassanian Town», Site 21 - Figs. 182-183 and Table 21.

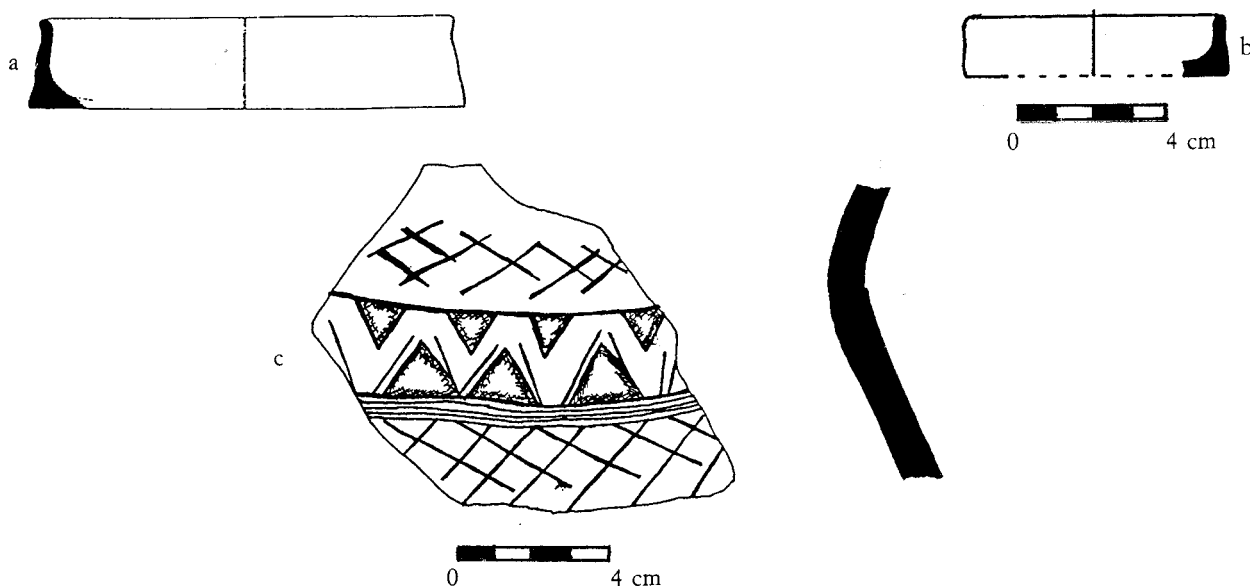


Fig. 179 - Ceramics from Mandigak and Dārābgerd.

been the choice of that particular potter. While the presence of a different pot form may be interpreted as a sign of chronological

difference (for the statistical features of the imprecise forms from the General Assemblage see table 20).

5 - MORPHOLOGICAL AND DECORATIVE PARALLELS

Plates excavated at Hājīābād – Fig. 170, a, g - Table 9 – may be compared with similar forms from Tal-i Malyān (ALDEN, 1978, fig. 6; 18-20)²¹, and Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 52 a-b, d, and h). However, this comparison would be between forms in broad terms and not in details of the profiles. Profiles of the plates vary considerably, not only from one assemblage to another but also from one object to another within each assemblage. Thus, no exact parallel can be found for any of the Hājīābād plates among those from Tal-i Malyān and Qasr-i Abu Nasr. However, the profiles of plates a and f from Hājīābād – Fig. 170 – are close respectively to plates 19 and 20 from Tal-i Malyān (ALDEN, 1978, fig. 6), while the profile of plate g from Hājīābād is close to h from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 52). An example from Dārābgerd (Fig. 179, b) is almost identical with h from Qasr-i Abu Nasr and comparable to g (Fig. 170) from Hājīābād. Strangely, however, the exact morphological parallel for plate c of Hājīābād – Fig. 170 – comes from Mundigak

(see Fig. 179, a), a Neolithic and Bronze Age site in southern Afghanistan, very remote from Hājīābād in term both of its date and location²². If the similarity between these two plates is not accidental we should be able to trace back the origin of the Hājīābād plate through sites such as Tepe Yahya²³; and as far as ceramics from this and similar sites are not wholly published such studies would remain impossible. Last but not least, six small *godets* with profiles of one or another of the Hājīābād plates have been found at Susa but these are suggested to have had an industrial function (ROSEN-AYALON, 1974, p. 123).

²¹ To make comparative studies easier references will be given within the text.

²² J.G. SHAFFER, «The Later Prehistoric Periods», fig. 3.16; 3 and p. 119. Period II₂ to which the plate is attributed is dated ca. 3500 B.C. (*ibidem*, p. 115).

²³ With the exception of one major gap the chronology of this site extends from 3800 B.C. to ca. A.D. 500 (See: C.C. LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY, «Tepe Yahya 1971», p. 89).

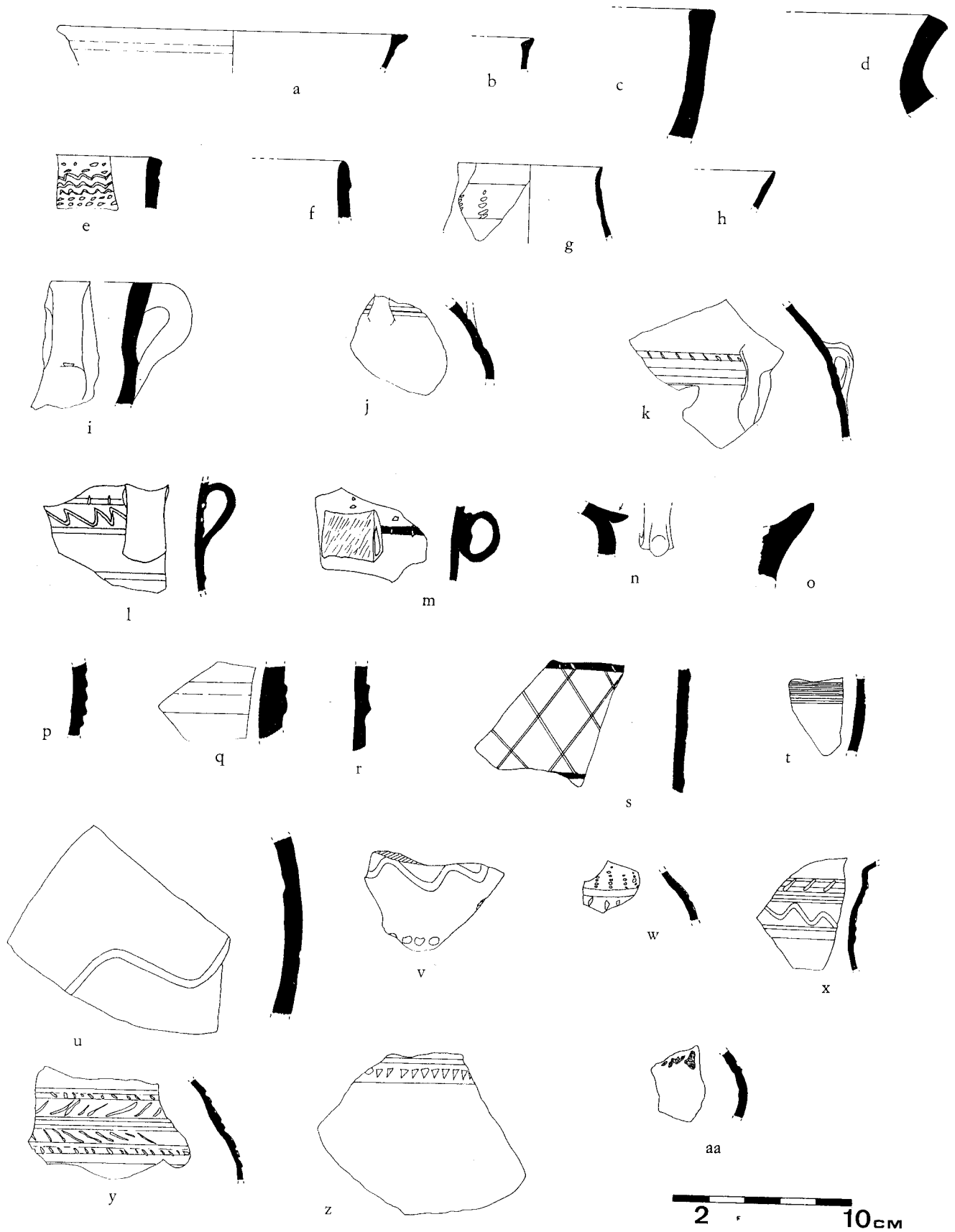


Fig. 180 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 19).

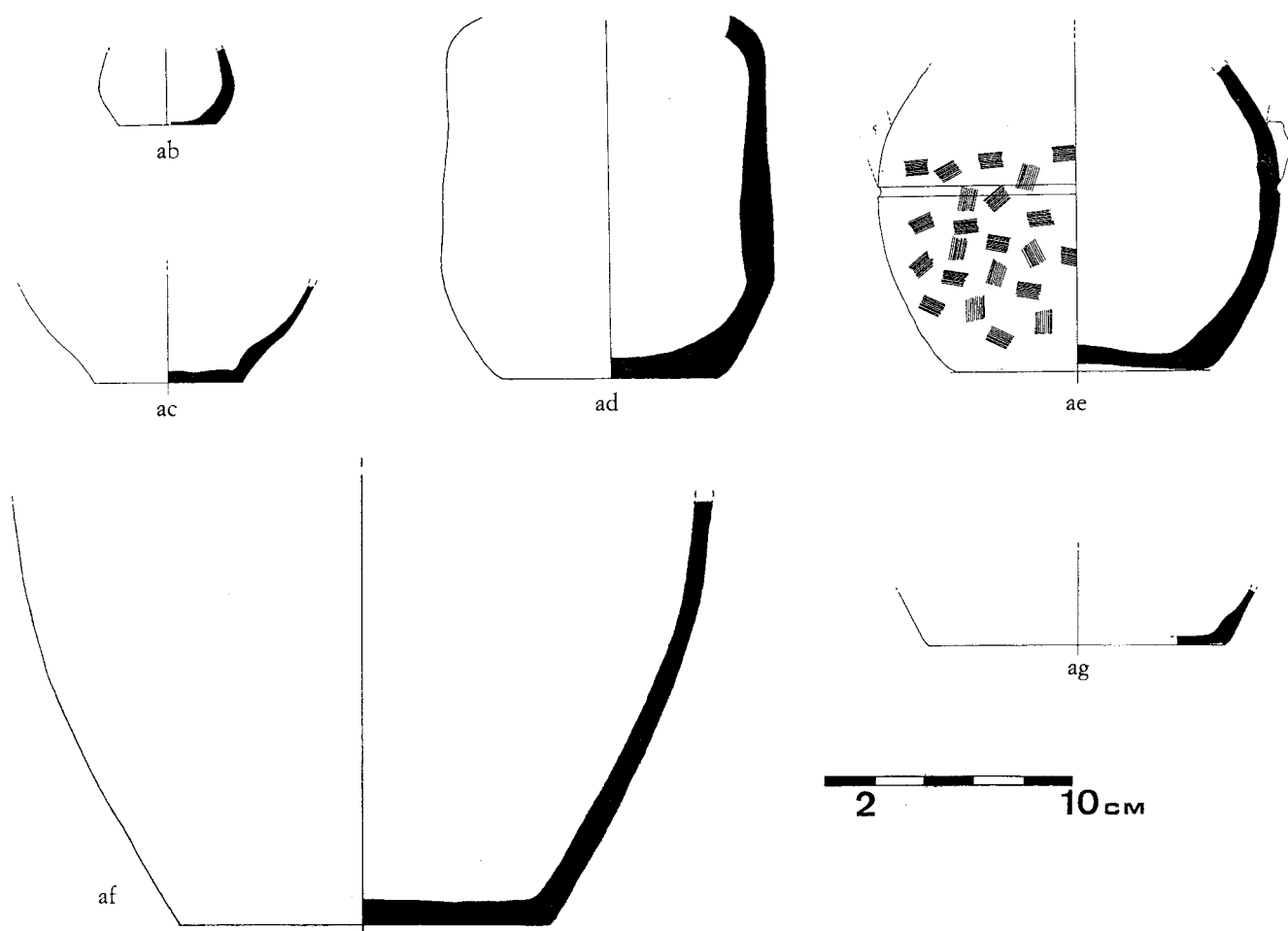


Fig. 181 - Ceramics from General Assemblage (table 19).

Everted bowls e and f – Fig. 171 – are comparable with, although not identical to, several bowls from Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, fig. 107, 7-8, 10-11 and 14), and Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, Fig. 51, v). In the same group h and to some extent n and o – Fig. 171 – with their grooved rims, may be compared with some closed mouth jars from Tepe Hājiābād (Southeast of Nezāmābād near Tehran) and Tepe Rash at Qal'eh-i Yazdigird (KEALL, 1981, fig. 10, 1-3 and 9-14). Another bowl or cup from Tepe Rash (KEALL, 1981, fig. 20, 19) has grooved rims comparable to those of several pots from Hājiābād (n and o, Fig. 171). A very similar bowl from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 51, jj) may also be compared with Fig. 171,g from Hājiābād. These comparisons are particularly relevant in the case of example h – Fig. 171 – from Hājiābād. However, if both the form of body and the profile of rim, and not only the

latter, are taken into account several wares from Hājiābād (m, n, o, and particularly l – Fig. 171 from the General Assemblage and b – Fig. 163 – from L. 117) seem to be especially comparable with a similar vessel from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 57, t).

Everted bowls b-c (Fig. 171) have no close parallels among sherds from Sasanian sites and may in fact be the descendants of the Parthian form called by Haerinck «le profil commun» of southeast of Iran and Persian Gulf (1983, carte 8-VIII, p. 247).

One of the four bowls from Hājiābād – Fig. 172,b – is closely comparable with a bowl from Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, Fig. 109,2).

It is more difficult to find a reasonably close parallel for the remaining pots from L. 117 (Fig. 163,c-e). The rim of pot e – Fig. 163 – more or less corresponds with rims of two

bowls and a thick rimmed basin from Gach Gumbad and Tepe Rash at Qal'eh-i Yazdigird (KEAL, 1981, fig. 17, 15, 21 and fig. 19, 32-33). However, considering the shape of rim, type and place of decoration (and probably even the form of body), the closest of all parallels to d and e – Fig. 163 – would come from Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, fig. 124,5) and Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 77,9). The shape of the rims of pots a and b from site 21 – Fig. 182 and Table 21 – is similar to several examples from Tepe Rash (KEALL, 1981, fig. 18, 1 and 3), Tal-i Malyân (ALDEN, 1978, fig. 6, 24)²⁴, Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 52, 1), and Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, fig. 124, 3-4) while a pot from site 10 – Fig. 188 (Table 25) b – is comparable with another vessel from Malyân (ALDEN, 1978, fig. 5, 11)²⁵.

Jars, we recall, constitute a very high percentage of the pottery recovered from Hājīābād and the sherded sites. Interestingly, although there are many wide mouthed jars among these, heavy rimmed and bodied stor-

age jars are few²⁶. Two of the latter, from sites 21 and 17 – respectively Figs. 183 and 186 (Tables 21, 23) d – are very similar in form of rims and decoration. The rims of these jars may be compared with the rims of several jars from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 40, b. f and fig. 45, f), Qal'a-ye Dukhtar (HUFF, 1978, fig. 29), Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, fig. 119, 29), Dārābgerd, and Atashgāh in Isfahan (KEALL, 1981, fig. 11, 2-3).

The small jar from site 17 (Fig. 186,a) may be compared with two vessels from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 47c and 48i

²⁴ The rim of the sample from Malyân does not extend sufficiently outward to provide a profile closely comparable with those from Hājīābād. The comparison is therefore approximative.

²⁵ The two somewhat differ from one another in the shape of the inner part of the rim.

²⁶ By storage jar I mean *Komreh* (Persian) = *Pithos*. The reason for this scarcity may be that pithoi usually were imbedded in the floor. Excavations in sites like 21 (Sasanian town) may reveal a larger number of them.

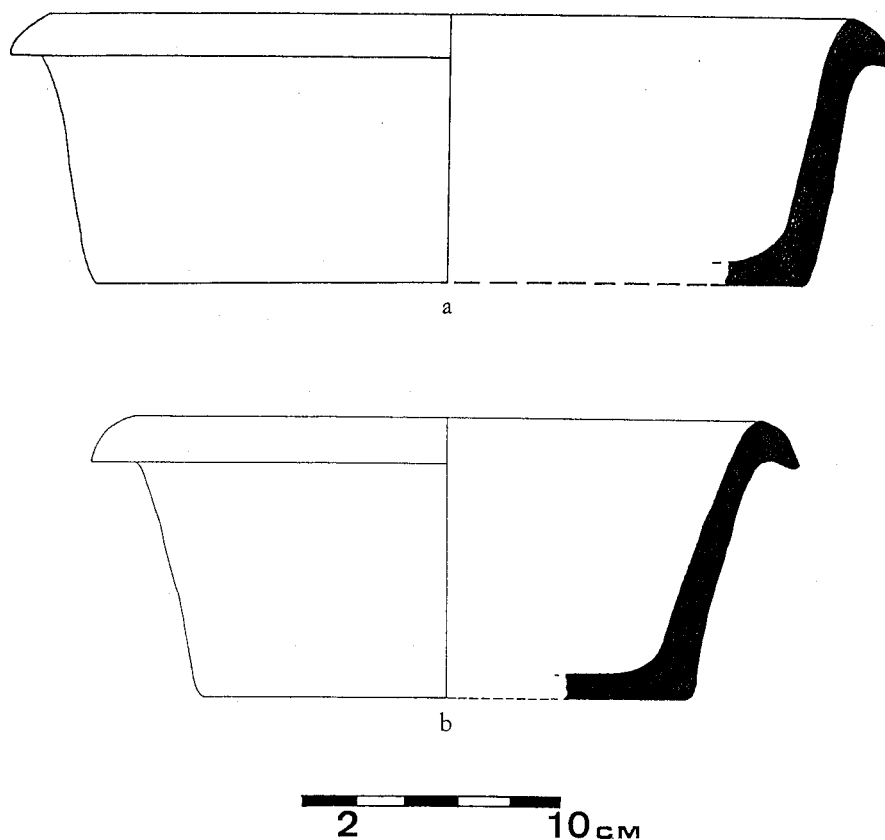


Fig. 182 - Ceramics from site 21 (table 21).

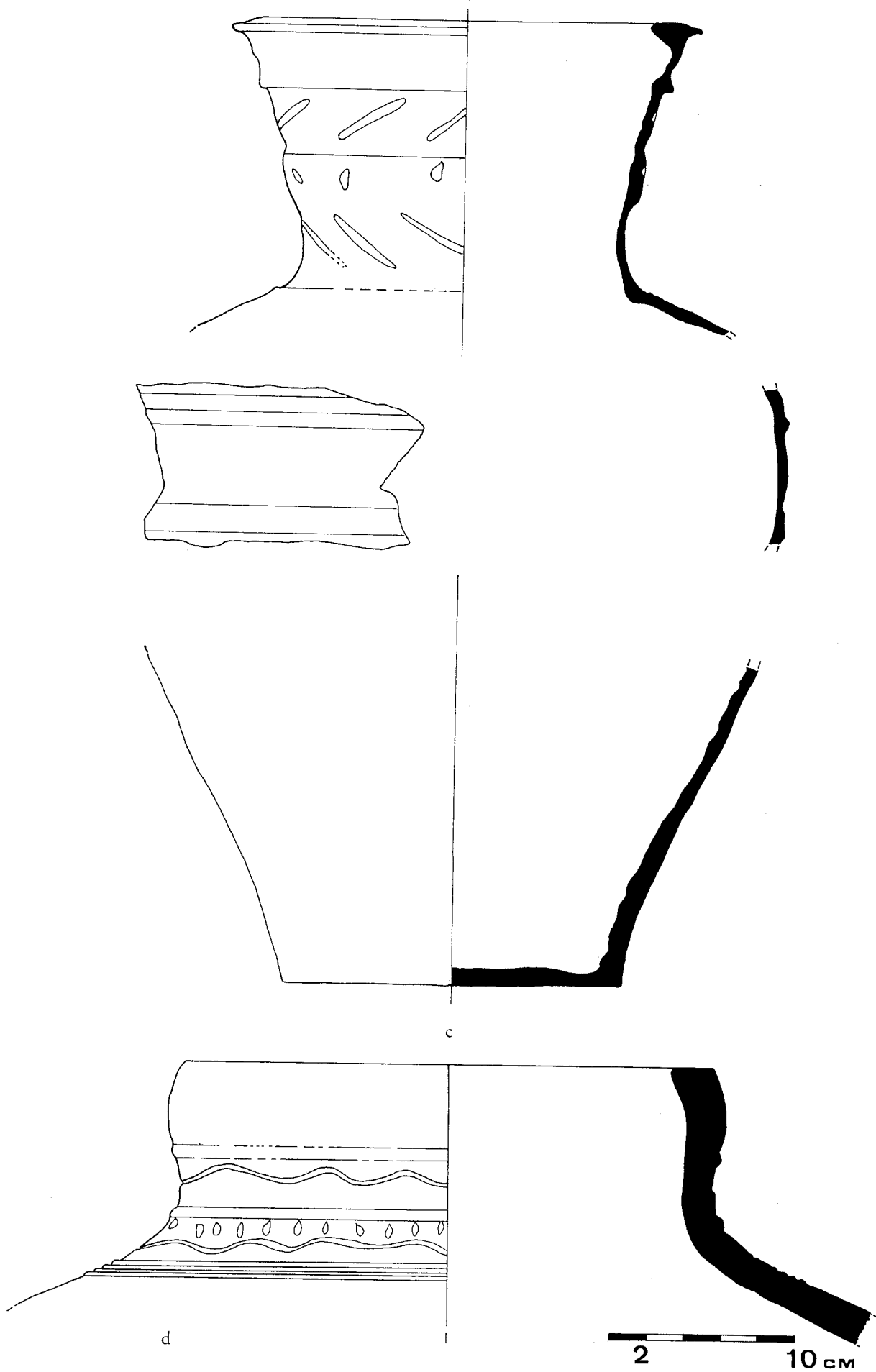


Fig. 183 - Ceramics from site 21 (table 21).

- particularly if we could disregard the latter's handles) and probably also with one from Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, fig. 123, 7).

Among the remaining jars one particular rim – Fig. 175, c, d and e – is similar to the rims of two bowls (?) from Naqš-i Rostam-Husain Kuh (KEALL, 1976, fig. 20, 1-2)²⁷. Although rims of several jars from Hājiābād, particularly triangular ones, show some affiliations with one or another vessel from other sites, some others, such as f in figure 175, c in figure 183, and d in figure 188, remain unparalleled. Jar c – Fig. 183 – nevertheless, demonstrates strong affinities, in shape and decoration in general, with a jar from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 42k).

A neckless, rimless jug (?) from Hājiābād – Fig. 181, ae – may tentatively be compared with some examples from: Tal-i Malyān (ALDEN, 1978, fig. 6, 13-5); Pasargadae (STRONACH, 1978, fig. 114, 3); Kish (HARDEN, 1934, fig. 2a, 26)²⁸; and Turēng Tepe (LECOMTE, 1987, pls. 67, 5; 69, 6, and particularly 138, 2).

Beaker a from Hājiābād – Fig. 173, a – may tentatively be compared with a beaker from Sīrāf (WHITEHOUSE and WILLIAMSON, 1973, fig. 5, a)²⁹. There are differences between the two vessels and here only their forms are compared. Even so, there is no total correspondence in forms between the two, but Sīrāf seems to be the only site within a reasonable distance from Hājiābād to offer the possibility for such comparison³⁰. A second beaker from Hājiābād – Fig. 173, b – may also be compared with another vessel from Sīrāf (*ibidem*, fig. 5, c) as well as two examples from Qal'eh-ye Kharg (SAJJADI, 1989, fig. 5 above right and below left).

The last category of pottery from Hājiābād which finds parallels in the other sites is a stand – Fig. 178, a – several of which have been found at Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 53, w-x)³¹.

Simple decorative elements such as notches, incised and relief bands and lines create a series of more or less complex decorative patterns. Naturally the simpler the pattern, the easier to find its parallel among the decorations of the pottery from the other sites. Among the simple altering decorative pat-

terns, such as single or multiple relief bands and ribs, some do not find sufficiently close parallels at other sites and some do. The decoration of sherds e and p respectively from Fig 165 and 180, consisting of multiple convex bands, is similar to the decoration of two fragments from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 16b; 42e-g), a jug from Qal'a-ye Dokhtar (HUFF, 1978, fig. 30), Kiš (LANGDON and HARDEN, 1934, fig. 2b, 7), Bard-i Nešandeh and Masdjid-i Soleimān (HAERINCK, 1983, fig. 3 no. 14, fig. 3 no. 12 & 15). Ribs, like those on fragments 180 q, r and 185 (Table 22) o, find their equivalents again at Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 42k).

Single incised zigzag lines on a jar from Hājiābād – Fig. 174, j – are comparable with similar elements from Karatah (Fars) (KEALL, 1981, fig. 18, 8); Manjanik (Elymais-*ibidem*, fig. 19, 5); Tepe Hissar (*ibidem*, fig. 18, 27); Gach Gumbad (*ibidem*, fig. 18, 29); and Kiš (*ibidem*, fig. 20, 21). A combination of straight and undulating (or zigzag) incised bands – Fig. 163, e – or incised lines – Fig. 188, c – has a replica in Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 53y). From Qasr-i Abu Nasr comes again a composition of two parallel straight bands bordering an undulating one (*ibidem*, fig. 53s, 77q and fig. 79l), comparable with Hājiābād Fig. 163, d. Another pattern made of an incised undulating band and a row of notches – Fig. 180, v – has parallels from Tepe Hissar (KEALL, 1981, fig. 24, 23) and Gach Gumbad (*ibidem*, 24, 24). A more complex combination, several undulating bands and rows of notches – Fig. 180, e – is quite similar to the decoration of a vessel

²⁷ KLEISS, «Beobachtungen in der Umgebung von Persepolis und Naqš-i Rostam», fig. 20, 1-2.

²⁸ HARDEN, «Pottery», pp. 113-136.

²⁹ WHITEHOUSE and WILLIAMSON, «Sasanian Maritime Trade», p. 37.

³⁰ SAJJADI, «A Class of Sasanian Ceramics», fig. 6 (the column to the right, items third and fourth from the top) also may be bottoms of this type of goblets.

³¹ Some other «vessels» resembling those from Hājiābād and Qasr-i Abu Nasr and having different proportions and profiles are suggested to be candlesticks (Kerzenleuchter-Bougeoir) (see SARRE, *Keramik von Samarra*, p. 27, fig. 80; ROSEN-AYALON, *La poterie islamique*, p. 135).

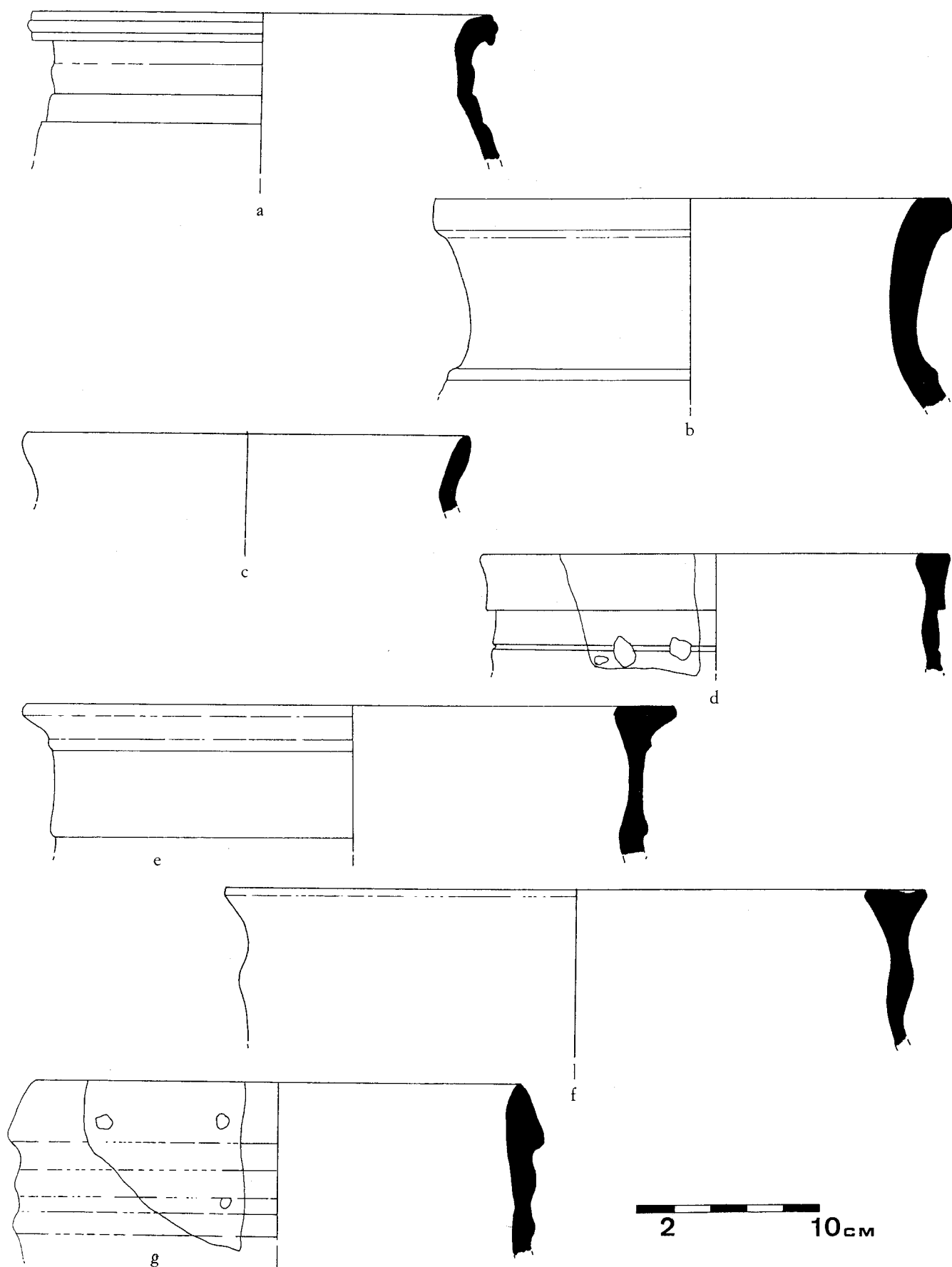


Fig. 184 - Ceramics from site 19 (table 22).

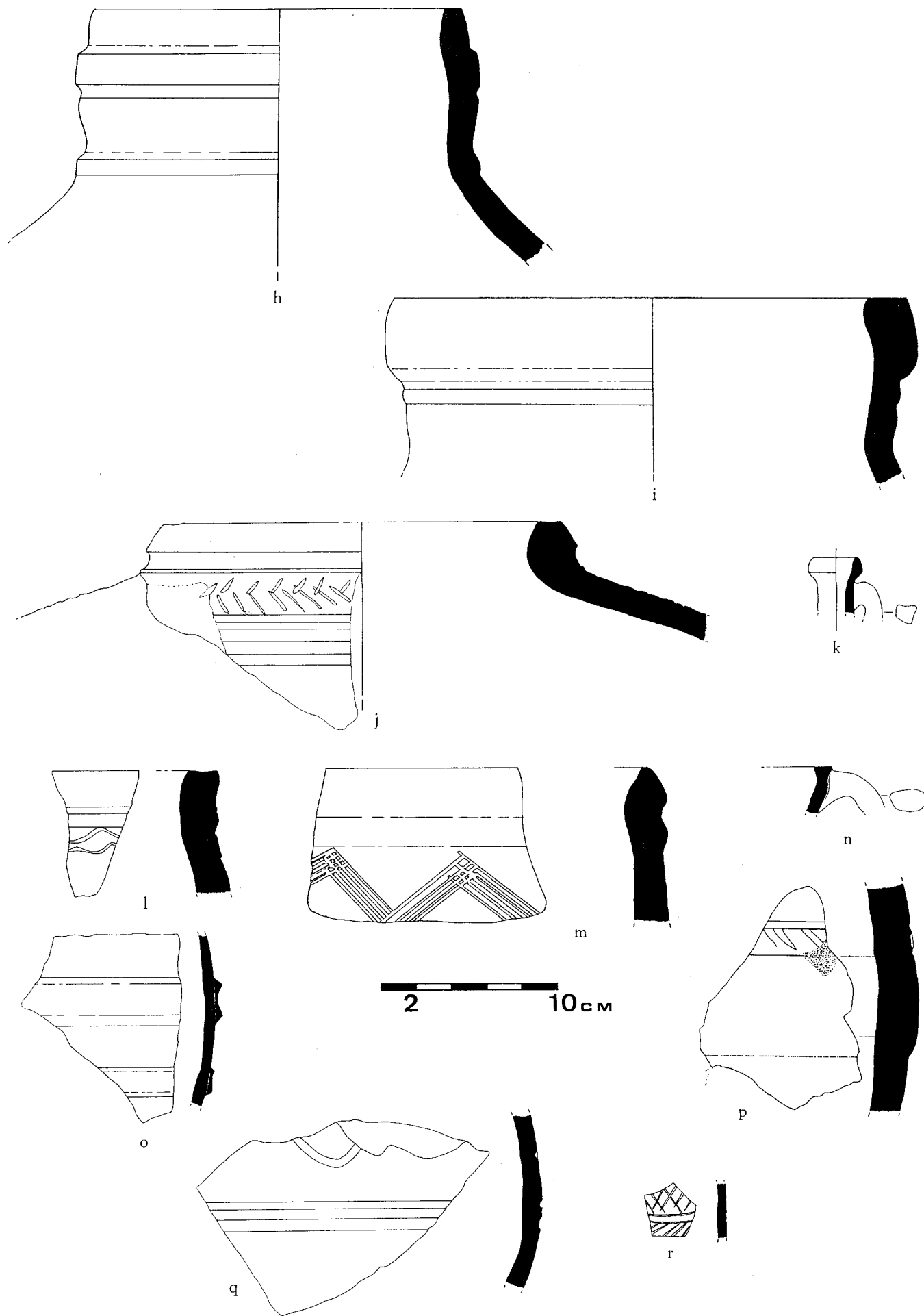


Fig. 185 - Ceramics from site 19 (table 22).

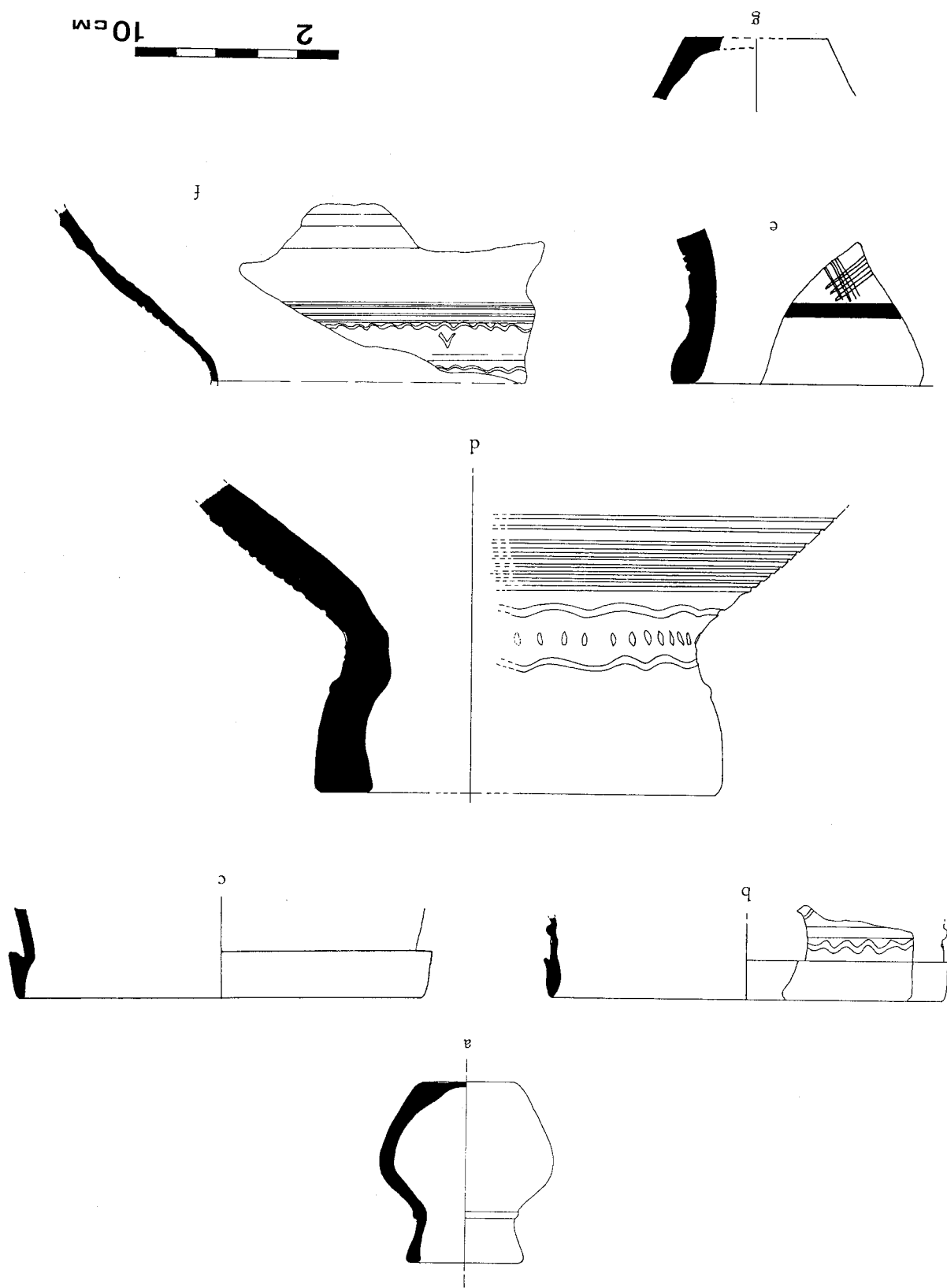


Fig. 186 - Ceramics from site 17 (table 23).

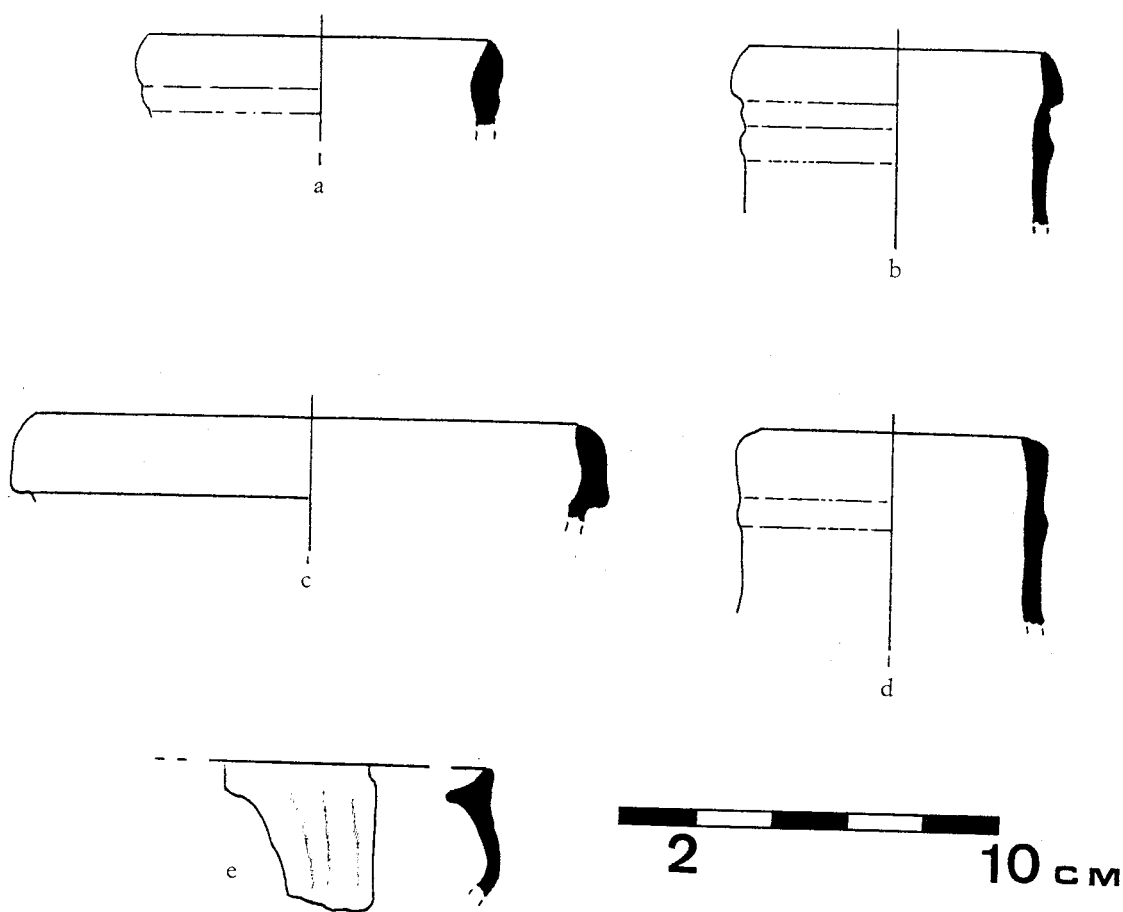


Fig. 187 - Ceramics from site 15 (table 24).

from Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 41a).

Two rows of parallel oblique bars on either side of a central (incised or relief) band, like those on a jar – Fig. 174,f – or a bottle – Fig. 177,a – and another sherd (unrecognizable form) – Fig. 180,y – are comparable with the decorations of several jars from Qal'a-ye Dokhtar (HUFF, 1976, fig. 6; *Id.*, 1978, figs. 24-27). Parallel chevrons – Fig. 171,g and 185,j – or an incised band with parallel oblique bars on only one side – Fig. 185,p – may be simplified versions of the same pattern.

Crosshatched incised lines – Figs. 165,d and 180,s – can be found at Qal'a-ye Dokhtar (HUFF, 1978, fig. 24), Qasr-i Abu Nasr (WHITCOMB, 1985, fig. 42i) and Kiš (LANGDON and HARDEN, 1934, pl. XVIIa). A more densely crosshatched decoration has a parallel from Susa (ROSEN-AYALON, 1971, fig. 63).

A horizontal combed design – Fig. 180,t –

is similar to the decoration of a fragment from Kala Dawar (KEALL, 1981, fig. 26, 10). Zigzag combed patterns – Figs. 185,m and 186,e – correspond to the decoration of a fragment from Naqš-i Rostam (KLEISS, 1976, fig. 20, 26). A very peculiar pattern composed of segments of combed patterns – Fig. 181,ae – appears on several fragments from Tepe Mill (KEALL, 1981, fig. 21, 24) and Tepe Eshqabad-Chal Tarchan (*ibidem*, fig. 21, 28). In these examples the pattern is not the exact equivalent of the composition from Hājīābād. However the basic element, i.e. segments of combed incision are used, but unlike the Hājīābād example, in combination with other patterns.

More complex combination of different elements, those on Fig. 175,c and d for example, remain without parallels from other sites.

A small amount of painted pottery and few-

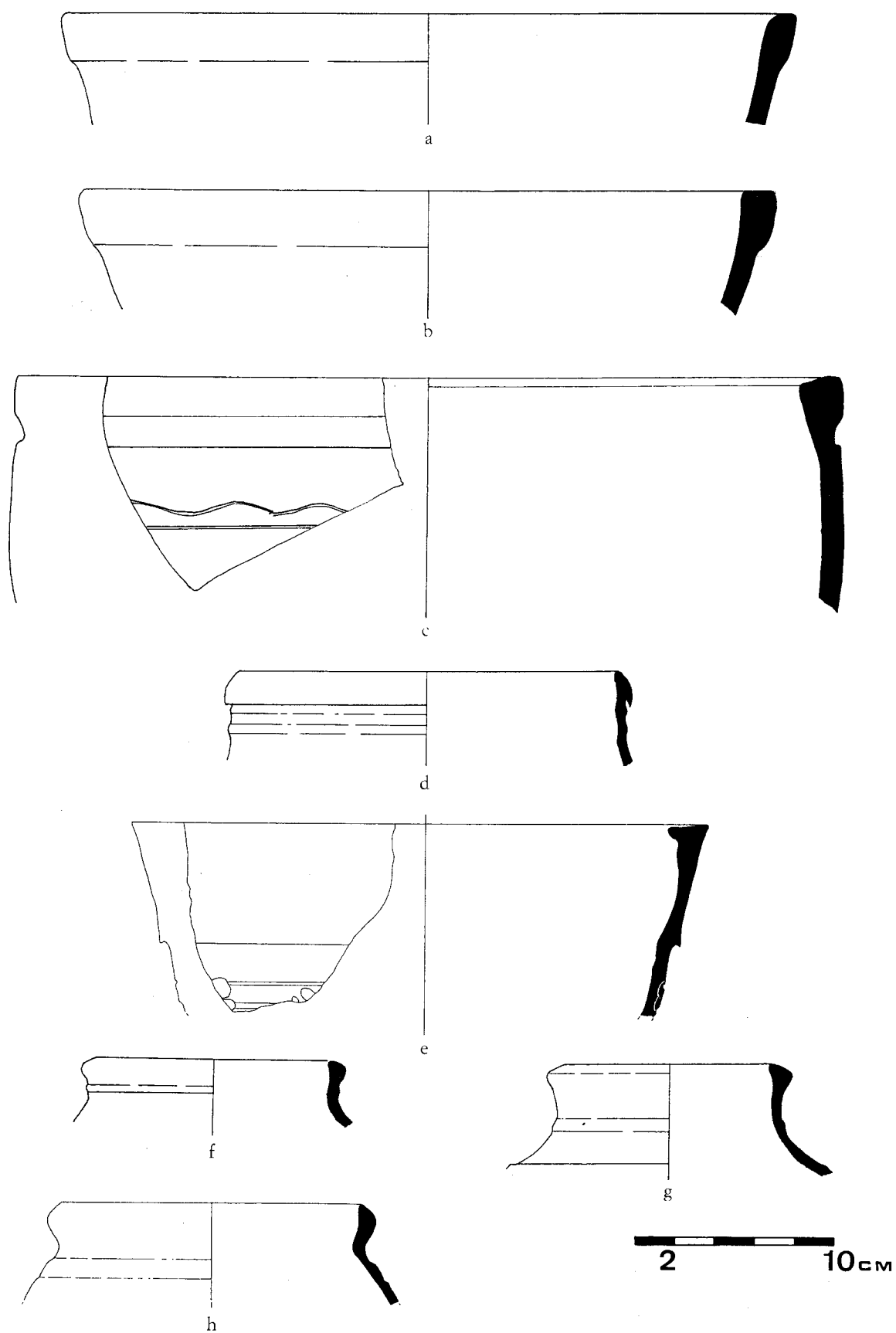


Fig. 188 - Ceramics from site 10 (table 25).

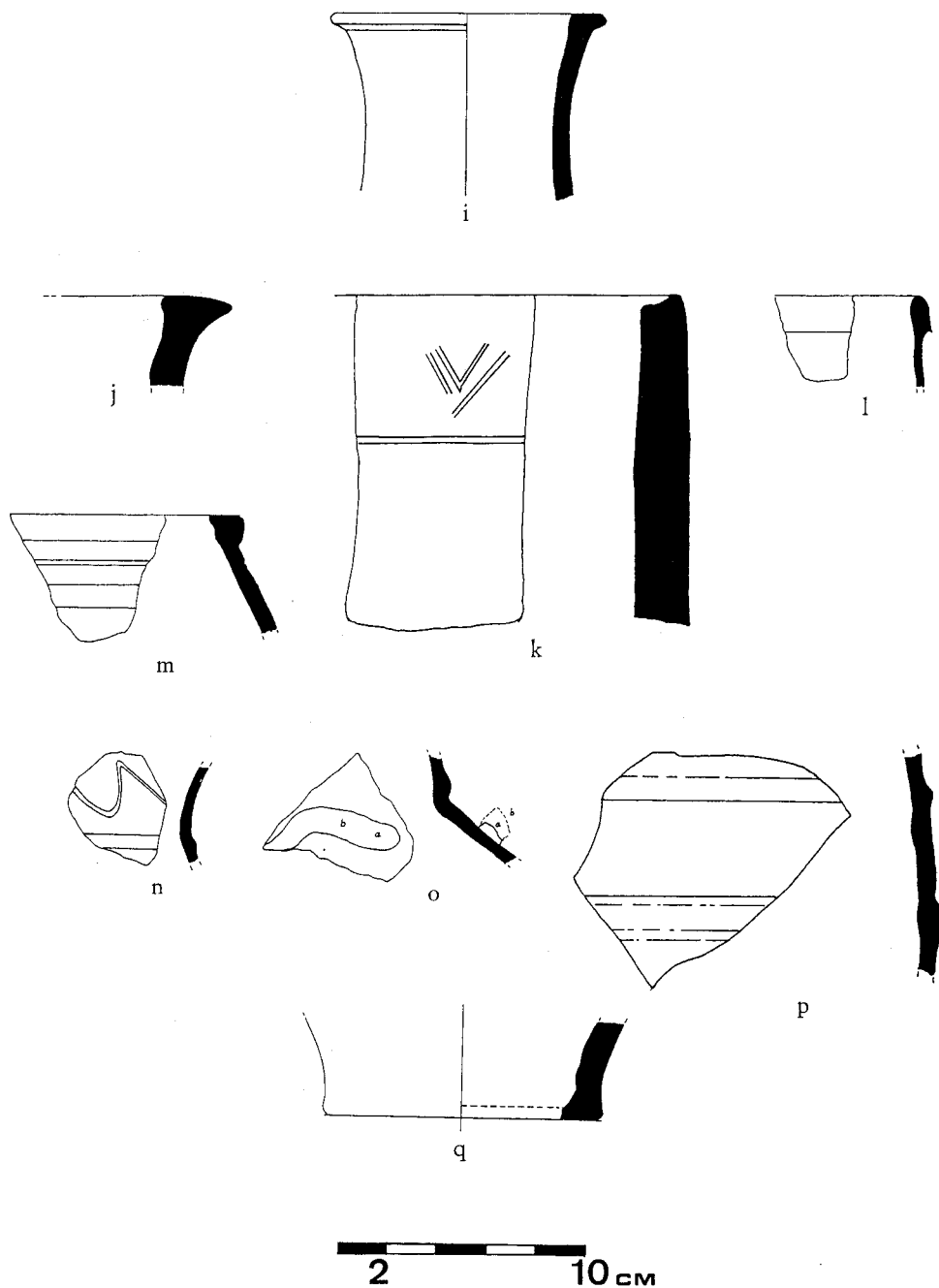


Fig. 189 - Ceramics from site 10 (table 25).

er glazed ceramics have been uncovered at Hājīābād and collected from the sherded sites. Glazed ceramics of Hājīābād and the sherded sites are of the type reported from other Parthian and Sasanian sites of Iran and Mesopotamia. The painted pottery of these sites, however, is interesting particularly in the light of recent discussions concerning a distinctive class of Parthian and Sasanian painted pottery. This type was first reported by Stein³²

and subsequently uncovered at, and collected from, several other excavated and surveyed sites from the south-southeast of Iran and the Persian Gulf³³. The two painted sherds from

³² STEIN, *Archaeological Reconnaissance*, pp. 132-160.

³³ HAERINCK, *La céramique en Iran*, pp. 226-231 – classified as Parthian alone; SAJJADI's, «A Class of Sasanian Ceramic», is the most recent review of this pottery.

site 7 – Fig. 190 (Table 26), c, h – may be of this group although there are some basic differences between these and the types reported by Stein, Whitehouse-Williamson³⁴, and Sajjadi who has called this pottery Namord Ware, by the name of one of his surveyed sites³⁵. Unfortunately the sherds from site 7

are very fragmentary and do not reveal any distinguishable decorative motif. The possibility therefore exists that the two belong to a

³⁴ «Sasanian Maritime Trade», pp. 37-38.

³⁵ The site is Tom-e Namord (site 136) («A Class of Sasanian Ceramics»).

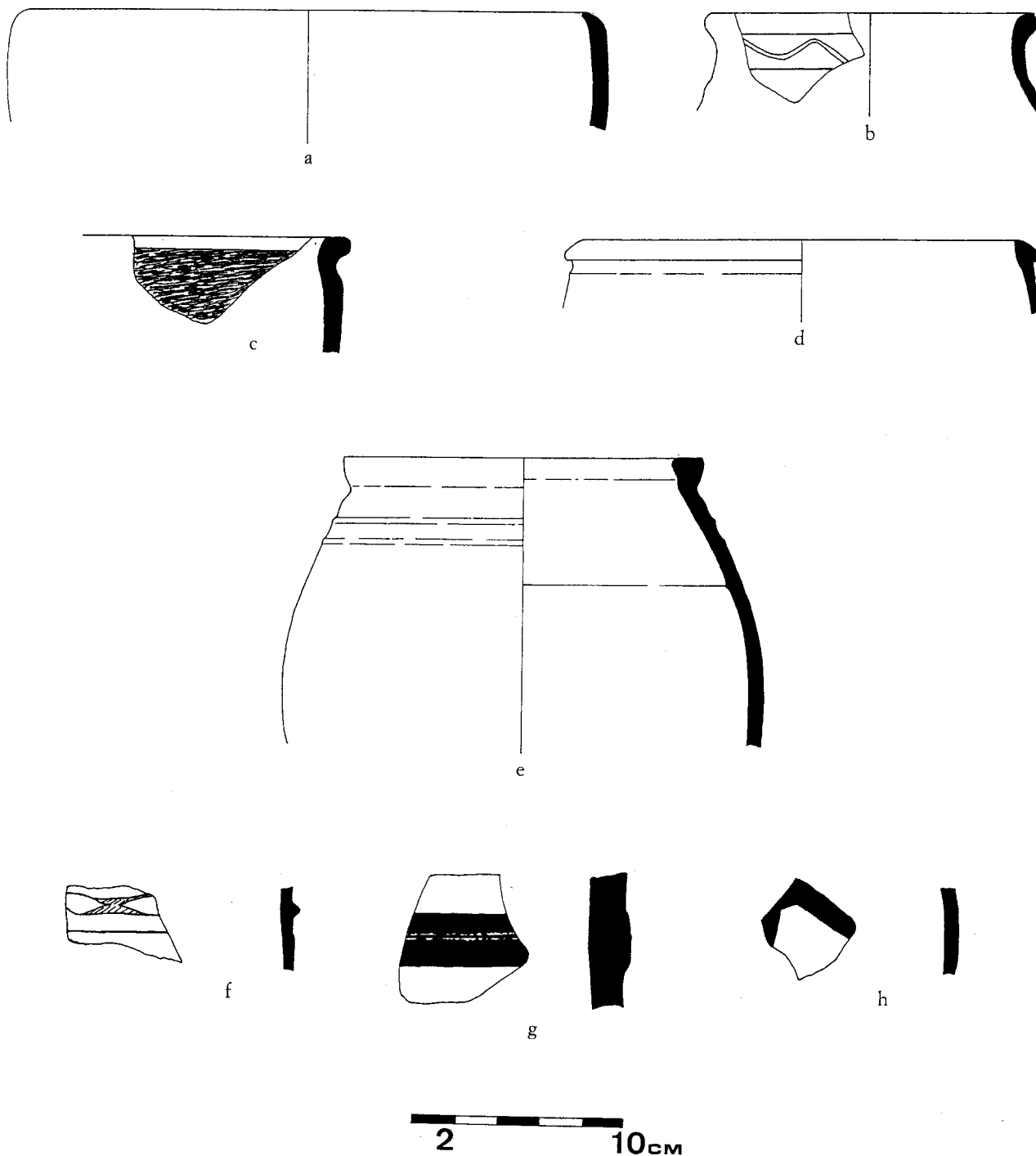


Fig. 190 - Ceramics from site 7 (table 26).

much older period. The buff color of these fragments may support the latter suggestion. There are, nevertheless, two more arguments in favor of considering site 7's painted sherds as Namord pottery. In Qasr-i Abu Nasr several Namord motifs appear on buff ware of forms differing from those so far known from Sīrāf and Jiroft suggesting that probably we do not know yet the extent and range of Namord Ware³⁶. However another sherd from Hājīābād – Fig. 173,b – suggests an affiliation with this class of the pre-Islamic pottery from

southeast Iran and the Persian Gulf. Here again there are differences in color of the ware and paint³⁷. So far white paint on a black surface has not been reported in Namord Ware, but spirals are one of its characteristic motifs³⁸. The presence of spiral motif(s?) on the sherd from Hājīābād together with its extremely thin body strongly suggest this connection, although the simplified design of the spiral(s?) on the sherd from Hājīābād may in fact be a later evolution of the original hanging spirals of the Namord Ware.

6 - CONCLUSION

No standard or recognizable Islamic ceramic is identified among the sherds uncovered during the excavation. Even the distinctive late Sasanian-early Islamic pottery with a characteristic decoration of «chip-carved triangular nicks»³⁹, stamped, and barbotine appliqué decoration⁴⁰ is absent. This type was widespread and its presence at Samara⁴¹, Susa⁴², and Sīrāf⁴³, among many other sites⁴⁴, demonstrates its popularity in an extensive geographical zone. It is almost certain that this ceramic, frequently referred to as Sasanian-Islamic, had penetrated as far east as Makrān⁴⁵. Dārābgerd too seems to have been within the sphere of this type of pottery, as an example from this site – Fig. 179,c, – may show⁴⁶. There is only one sherd from the excavated site (Fig. 180,z) which may show some affiliations with this late Sasanian-early Islamic pottery. A similar decorative pattern, nevertheless, is observable on a sherd from Kiš (KEALL, 1981, fig. 25 no. 19). Moreover an identical piece of ceramic from Naqš-i Rostam (SCHMIDT, 1970, fig. 29, 14) is dated by Schmidt post-Achaemenid and pre-Islamic⁴⁷. It seems probable, therefore, that the pottery uncovered from the excavated site at Hājīābād belonged to a period between the fourth century A.D., the date of the construction – and abandonment – of the Manor House (see ch. VI), and the late Sasanian period. Comparisons between the forms and decorations of the pottery from Hājīābād and other sites also guide us to this direction. Among these sites only few have been confidently dated to a short period of time, like the Sasanian cera-

mic from Tal-i Malyān. Others are more uncertain. Moreover, many ceramic forms are remarkably stable, and it is extremely difficult to know if the changes they demonstrate is a local variation or can be interpreted as a chro-

³⁶ Qasr-i Abu Nasr: WHITCOMB, *Before the Roses and Nightingale*, fig. 49 f, o. These and fig. 49 p are respectively comparable with SAJJADI, «A Class of Sasanian Ceramics», fig. 10 – the three fragments of the middle column – and fig. 6 – second from the top.

³⁷ Although the Namord Ware's paste may be gray its surface color varies only from «brick red (ochre) to burnt red and brown...» (SAJJADI, «A Class of Sasanian Ceramics», p. 33).

³⁸ STEIN, *Archaeological Reconnaissance*, pl. XX: Haz. 58, Haz. 6, Nam. 10; WHITEHOUSE and WILLIAMSON, «Sasanian Maritime Trade», p. 38; SAJJADI, «A Class of Sasanian Ceramics», fig. 9.

³⁹ LANE, *Early Islamic Pottery*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ KOEHLIN, *Les céramiques musulmanes*, pp. 11, 16.

⁴¹ SARRE, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, pp. 8-21, pls. 1-4.

⁴² KOEHLIN, *Les céramiques musulmanes*, pp. 14-19 and 42-47, pls. I-IV, and VIII; ROSEN-AYALON, *La poterie islamique*, pp. 51 and ff.

⁴³ WHITEHOUSE, «Excavations at Sīrāf, First Interim Report», pp. 7, 14, pl. VIc; Id., «Excavations at Sīrāf; Fifth Interim Report», pl. Xb.

⁴⁴ Several of these are reported by KEALL, «The Qa'eh-i Yazdigird pottery», fig. 22.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 14 where the author refers to STEIN, *Archaeological Reconnaissance*, pp. 98-99 (Chihil Dukhtarān), 197 (Leshtān), 199 (Shiu) and 217 (Kashkuk and Asir).

⁴⁶ Compare with ROSEN-AYALON, *La poterie islamique*, fig. 363. The latter is suggested to be from «niveau 2» (Id., p. 157. this level corresponds to part of the eighth-ninth centuries A.D. – Id., p. 12).

⁴⁷ SCHMIDT, *Persepolis*, III, p. 68.

nological evolution. In this case some forms which other students suggest are early-Islamic could be late or even early-Sasanian. A particular form from Hājīābād's general assemblage and some of the sherded sites, pots for example, can be compared with similar objects from sites ranging from early to late Sasanian. I suggest, therefore, that the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. are the most plausible dates for the ceramics of the surveyed sites

in general and the excavated site in particular.

A so far unidentifiable part of the assemblage almost certainly belongs to the second half of the fourth century, or even earlier, especially if the apparent dereliction of sites 1 (the Manor House) and 17 (Čahār-Sotūn) was part of a wider phenomenon extending to settlements such as sites 21 (the town) and 19 (the fortification).

Table 1 - Guide to the locus numbers

Locus	Square	Locus	Square	Locus	Square
101	N, 8-9	164	N-O, 13-15	223	O-Q, 12
102	N, 8	165	M, 14	224	M, 9
103	O, 8	166	N, 14	225	K, 10
104	N-O, 8-9	167	P, 13-14	227	K, 10
105	N, 7	168	L, 14	228	N, 16
106	M-N, 8	169	L, 14	229	M-N, 16-17
107	* N-O, 9-10	170	L, 11-12	230	M, 16
108	M-N, 10	171	L-M, 14-16	231	N, 16
110	N-O, 9-10	172	R-Q, 8-9	232	M, 16
111	K-M, 9-10	173	Q-R, 9	233	Q-R, 8-9
112	K, 9-10	174	Q-R, 9		
113	O, 10	175	P-Q, 10		
114	O-P, 9-10	176	R-S, 9		
115	M-O, 7	177	R, 9		
116	P, 8	178	L-O, 13-16		
118	O-P, 9	180	O-P, 14		
119	N-O, 9	181	P, 14		
120	N, 12-13	182	O-P, 14-15		
121	N, 13	183	P, 14-15		
122	Q, 10	184	M, 10		
124	N-O, 13-14	185	K, 10		
125	L-M, 14-16	186	K, 10		
126	Q-R, 10	187	M, 16		
127	N, 13	188	M-N, 9		
128	L-M, 12-13	190	J-K, 9		
129	M, 13	191	P, 15		
130	R-S, 7-9	192	P, 15		
131	L-N, 13-14	193	O, 16		
132	Q-R, 9-10	194	O, 14-15		
133	O-P, 8-10	195	K-L, 9-10		
134	O-P, 13	196	M, 9		
135	O-Q 12-13	197	R-S, 9-10		
136	O, 13	198	Q-R, 10		
137	O-P, 12-13	199	O, 16		
138	N-O, 14-15	200	N, 16		
139	P, 12-13	201	N, 16		
141	M-N, 9	202	N-O, 16		
142	M-N, 9	203	K-M, 13-16		
143	M-N, 9	204	R, 9-10		
144	M, 8-9	205	J-K, 9-10		
145	N, 8	207	M, 9		
147	M-N, 8-9	208	K-L, 14-16		
148	R, 8-9	209	O-P, 13-14		
149	L-N, 12-13	210	M-O, 16		
151	N, 12-13	211	O-P, 14-16		
152	N-O, 13	212	L-M, 14-16		
153	R, 8	213a	N-O, 7-8		
154	R-S, 8-9	213b	M-N, 7-8		
155	P-Q, 8-9	213c	J-K, 9		
156	Q, 8-9	214	L, 8-9		
157	P-Q, 9-10	215	P-Q, 13-14		
158	P-Q, 12-13	217	Q, 12-14		
159	P, 13	218	N, 15		
160	P, 12	219	N, 8		
161	P, 13	220	O, 9		
162	O, 16	221	K-M, 9-11		
163	L, 12-14	222	K-L, 9-10		

Underlined figures, such as 17 in L. 131, are elevations.

Table 2 - Sherd distribution at the excavated site (site 1)

	Squares	O7	N7	M7	S8	R8	Q8	P8	O8	N8	M8	S9	R9	Q9	P9	O9	N9	M9	L9	K9	J9	S10	R10	Q10	P10	O10	N10	M10	L10	K10	J10
Heights in cms																															
230																													12		
220																															
210																															
200																															
190																															
180																															
170													11	26																	
160																								6							
150																							5	2							
140																							6					16			
130																							74								
120																								1							
110														12										34							
100																								10							
90																								3							
80													4											11							
70														23										9	1	9					
60		3												18										9							
50																								8							
40																								14							
30																								8							
20																															
10																															
0																															
-10																															
-20																															
-30																															
total		3	9	0	0	236	0	129	0	5	0	45	329	662	133	0	5	0	0	6	7	0	661	192	28	8	9	23	12	24	0

Table 2 - Sherd distribution at the excavated site (site 1)

	R11	Q11	Q13	P13	O13	N13	M13	L13	K13	Q14	P14	O14	N14	M14	L14	K14	J14	Q15	P15	O15	N15	M15	L15	K15	J15	O16	N16	M16	L16	R16
Heights in cms																														
230																														
220																														
210																														
200																														
190																														
180																														
170																														
160																														
150																														
140						3						5																		
130																														
120						10								8																
110				2											29															
100							14																							
90																						7								
80												15		17	5	5														
70																														
60																														
50	66																													
40																														
30	74			26		7		30																						
20																														
10																														
0																														
-10	39																													
-20																														
-30																														
total	140	39	0	28	0	112	64	62	0	0	89	100	41	90	233	0	0	0	0	55	46	53	70	49	0	35	42	43	16	

Table 3 - Variables used to define Hajiabad ceramics

Form	Number	Rim			Fabric			Color			Decoration						Undeco.	Size																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
		a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e	Aa	b	c	Ba	b	c	d	e	f	Ba	b	c	d	e	f																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															</

Table 4 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 163

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Square	Elevation
a Everted bowl (?)	?	Medium	Black/gray	Plain	?/5.6mm/8.5cm	Q9	L. 117
b Pot	Grooved	Very coarse	Brow. & red. buff	Incised parallel bands	24cm/19mm	Q9	L. 117
c Pot	Triangular	Very coarse	Buff	Incised parallel bands & triangles (wet smoothed or slipped?)	27.5cm/30mm	Q9	L. 117
d Pot	Triangular	Very coarse	Red. buff	Incised straight & undulating bands	28.5cm/25mm	Q9	L. 117
e Pot	Triangular*	Medium	Brow. buff/red. black	Incised straight and undulating buff & convex relief bands	25.5cm/23mm	Q9	L. 117

Table 5 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 164

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a	Jar	Tapered	Medium	Light gray	Parallel relief bands	13cm/5mm	1071-62	Q9	L. 117
b	Jar	Tapered	Medium	Black	A convex relief band	11.6cm/4mm	1054-25	Q9	L. 117
c	Jar	Triangular	Medium	Buff	Parallel relief bands	11.2cm/7mm	1071-11	Q9	L. 117
d	Jar	Direct	Medium	Red	Pointed relief bands	10.2cm/2.5mm	1054-11	Q9	L. 117
e	Jar	Tapered	Medium	Black	Pointed relief bands	8.6cm/2mm	1054-22	Q9	L. 117

Table 6 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 165

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a	Jar or bottle ?	?	Fine	Black	Parallel & undulating incised bands	?/2.5mm	1054-19 (& 38)	Q9	L. 117
b	Jar or bottle ?	?	Fine	Gray	Parallel incised bands	?/3mm	1054-44	Q9	L. 117
c	Jar or bottle ?	?	Fine	Black	Parallel & undulating incised bands, convex band & notches	?/2mm	1071-56	Q9	L. 117
d	?	?	Medium	Black	Paral. bands, notches & oblique incised bars	?/5.5mm	1071-18	Q9	L. 117
e	?	?	Fine	Light gray	Convex bands	?/5.5mm	1071-15	Q9	L. 117

Table 8 - Statistical table of imprecise forms from L. 117 (Fig. 165)

Pottery	Rim					Fabric					Color					Decoration					Unde.	Size					
	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e	Aa	b	c	Ba	b	c	Aa	b	c	d	e	f
a																											
b																											
c																											
d																											
e																											

Table 9 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 170

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a Plate	Tapered	Coarse	Black	Plain	16cm/5mm/17cm	1091-1 (& 2)	Q11	1cm
b Plate	Tapered	Coarse	Gray	Plain	21cm/5mm/21cm	1229-15	P13	44cm
c Plate	Tapered	Medium (grit & veg. ?)	Black	Plain	14.4cm/5mm/16cm	1098-1	R10	77cm
d Plate	Tapered	Fine	Buff	Plain	14cm/11.5mm/13cm	1229-8	P13	44cm
e Plate	Tapered	Unknown	Black	Plain	14.5cm/6mm/15cm	1232-2	N13	13cm
f Plate	Tapered	Unknown	Black	Plain	?/5mm/?	1122-25	R10	27-108cm
g Plate	Tapered	Medium	Brick red	Plain	?/5mm/?	1206-41	Q9	-4cm

Table 10 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 171

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a Everted bowl	Tapered	Medium (grit & veg. ?)	Buff	Plain	10cm/5.5mm	1110-42	R10	43cm
b Everted bowl	Triangular	Fine	Dark gray	Plain	22cm/9mm	1306-5	O16	-1cm
c Everted bowl	Grooved	Unknown	Gray	Plain	20cm/6mm	1116-8	N15	102cm
d Everted bowl	Triangular	Medium	Buff	Plain	8cm/3.5mm	1110-135	R10	43cm
e Everted bowl	Tapered	Unknown	Red	Plain	16cm/4mm	1265-32 (&48)	R8	4cm
f Everted bowl	Tapered	Coarse	Red & gray stains/ brick red	Plain	12cm/3mm	1200-11	R10	17cm
g Everted bowl	Grooved	Unknown	Buff	A deep incised line & chevrons	10cm/3mm	1106-43 (or 34?)	Q10	4cm
h Everted bowl or Pot?	Grooved	Fine	Light gray	Plain	18cm/5mm	1110-9	R10	43cm
i Everted bowl (?)	?	Coarse	Dark gray & black stains/ brick red	Plain	?/5.5mm/8.8cm	1056-3 (& 4, 6, 8, 9, 12)	Q10	121cm
j Pot (?)	Triangular	Coarse	Yellow. buff	Plain	22cm/10.5mm	1110-5	R10	43cm
k Pot (?)	Triangular	Medium	Red	Plain	41cm/13.5	1110-12	R10	43cm
l Pot (?)	Grooved	Coarse	Buff	Plain	36cm/12.5mm	1013-6 (& 8)	O10	43cm
m Pot (?)	Grooved	Medium	Buff	Plain	22cm/8.5mm	1194-4	O14	25cm
n Pot (?)	Grooved	Very fine	Buff	A convex band	33cm(?) / 9.5mm	1081-136	Q9	25cm
o Pot (?)	Grooved	Medium	Buff/dark buff	Combed lines	18.5cm/10mm	1110-7	R10	43cm
p Pot (?)	Grooved	Coarse	Buff	Plain	33cm/9.5mm	1035-1	K10	15cm

Table 11 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 172

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a Bowl	Grooved	Unknown	Buff	Plain	26.1cm/13mm	1099-8 (& 2)	Q9	17cm
b Bowl	Tapered	Unknown	Buff	Plain	13cm/5mm	1122-11	R10	28-108cm
c Bowl	Tapered	Medium	Black	Plain	11cm/2.5mm	1049-3	R11	53cm
d Bowl (?)	Tapered	Fine	Dark gray	Plain	10cm/2.5mm	1092-12	P9	40cm

Table 12 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 173

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a Beaker	?	Unknown	Red	Plain	?/5mm/7cm	1110-210	R10	43cm
b Beaker	Tapered	Fine	Black	Painted spiral(s?) in white	Unknown/2mm	1219-1	M14	-1cm

Table 13 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 174

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a Jar	Triangular	Medium	Black	Plain	14cm/3.5mm	1214-21	P9	-7cm
b Jar	Triangular	Medium	Black	A relief band	9cm/2mm	1247-5	L13	99cm
c Jar?	Grooved	Fine	Brick red	A convex band	14cm/3mm	1109-12	Q10	11cm
d Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Black	Parallel convex bands	12cm/4mm	1265-55	R8	4cm
e Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Red	Parallel convex bands	16cm/3mm	1249-6	R8	13cm
f Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Black	Parallel relief bands, notches, incised oblique bars	37.2cm/9mm	1153-1 (& 3,10)	P8	-5cm
g Jar	Grooved	Fine	Black	Two parallel bands	18cm/3.5mm	1229-7	P13	44cm
h Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Black	Convex bands	20cm/6mm	1265-38 (& 56)	R8	4cm
i Jar	Triangular	Fine	Black	A narrow relief band	8cm/2mm	1099-21	Q9	17cm
j Jar	Tapered	Unknown	Red	A zigzag incised band	13.1cm/3mm	1099-15	Q9	17cm
k Jar	Tapered	Medium	Black/brick red/black	Plain	18cm/5mm	1081-24	Q9	25cm
l Jar	Tapered	Coarse	Gray	A convex band	12cm/4mm	1104-29	R10	48cm
m Jar	Tapered	Unknown	Black	Plain	20.8cm/9mm	1265-102 (& 104)	R8	4cm
n Jar	Tapered	Medium	Brick red	Plain	12cm/3.5mm	1109-18	Q10	11cm
o Jar	Triangular	Medium	Dark Gray	Plain	14cm/3mm	1111-11	R9	31cm
p Jar	Broad	Medium	Black/red with black. stains	Plain	28cm (?)/3mm	1209-40	S9	6cm
q Jar	Broad	Coarse	Violet-red	Parallel incised bands	9cm/2.5mm	1110-115	R10	43cm
r Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Black with gray stains	Plain	17.8cm/8mm	1122-22 (& 12, 15, 36)	R10	27-108cm
s Jar	Tapered	Unknown	Buff	Plain	?/4.5mm	1265-30	R8	4cm
t Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Buff	Plain	?/7mm	1214-9	P9	-7cm
u Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Light gray with red. stains	A relief band	9cm/3mm	1230-1	R10	8cm

Table 14 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 175

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a	Jar	Tapered	Unknown	Red	A sharp incised line	10cm/2mm	1099-23 (& 10)	Q9	17cm
b	Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Red	Parallel convex bands	11cm/4mm	1104-6	R10	48cm
c	Jar	Broad	Medium	Black	Convex bands, undulating incised band, and notches	13cm/4mm	1081-10 (& 56)	Q9	25cm
d	Jar	Broad	Fine	Black	Convex bands, notches, oblique incised bars	11cm/3mm	1081-18 (& 13)	Q9	25cm
e	Jar	Broad	Medium	Black	A relief band & notches	14cm/2.5mm	1094-7	Q9	35cm
f	Jar	Broad	Unknown	Black	Narrow relief bands and notches on the upper band	13cm/4mm	1287-35 (& 91)	L14	-1cm
g	Jar	Triangular	Medium	Black/black. red	A convex band	12cm/2.5mm	1249-27	R8	13cm
h	Jar	Grooved	Medium	Black	A convex band	9cm/2mm	1096-6	P10	26cm
i	Jar	Triangular	Fine	Black	Parallel convex bands	12cm/3mm	1117-15	P9	14cm
j	Jar	Grooved	Unknown	Buff	Two parallel convex bands	13cm/7mm	1265-1	R8	4cm
k	Jar	Triangular	Medium	Buff	Parallel convex bands	10cm/5.5mm	1229-4	P13	44cm
l	Jar	Triangular	Medium	Red. buff	A convex band	10cm/6.5mm	1234-21	R8	127cm
m	Jar	Triangular	Fine	Gray	A rib	12cm/7mm	1013-3 (& 4)	O10	43cm
n	Jar	Triangular	Coarse	Buff	Parallel relief bands	10.9cm/6mm	1200-13	R10	17cm
o	Jar	Triangular	Coarse	Gray. buff	Plain	11cm/7mm	1110-58	R10	43cm
p	Jar	Direct	Medium	Buff	Rows of notches and an incised band	?/7mm	1122-58	R10	27-108
q	Jar	Tapered	Medium	Black	A narrow relief band	10cm/3mm	1092-6 (& 7-8, 26, 36)	R11	53cm
r	Jar	Direct	Fine	Gray	Parallel relief bands	10cm/3mm	1119-7	R11	36cm
s	Jar	Triangular	Coarse	Buff	Plain	14cm/5mm	1110-4	R10	43cm

Table 15 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 176

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a	Jug	Tapered	Unknown	Gray	Plain	6cm/2.5mm	1265-44	R8	4cm
b	Jug	Direct	Fine	Black	Large notches	3.3cm/3.5	1283-5	L13	-2cm

Table 16 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 177

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a	Bottle	Broad (& scalloped)	Fine	Brick red & large black stains	Flat ribs, convex bands, incised bars & notches	8.6cm/3mm	1092-4	R11	53cm
b	Bottle	Triangular	Medium	Dark gray	Notches	6cm/3mm	1200-4	R10	17cm
c	Bottle?	Triangular	Coarse	Black	Plain	?/3mm	1110-291	R10	43cm
d	Bottle	Direct	Unknown	Buff	Parallel convex bands	3.4cm/3mm	1110-230	R10	43cm
e	Bottle	-	Medium	Dark gray	Parallel convex bands	?/2.5mm	1208-3	P9	-4cm

Table 17 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 178

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a	?	Unknown	Very light gray	A relief band	?/6mm/15cm	1104-27 (& 28, 42)	R10	48cm

Table 18 - Statistical table of precise forms, General Assemblage (Figs. 170-178)

[illegible]

Table 19 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figures 180-181

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label	Square	Elevation
a Everted bowl?	Grooved	Coarse	Dark gray	A convex band	8cm(?) / 3mm	1109-31	Q10	11cm
b Jar?	Grooved	Medium	Black	A convex band	20cm(?) / 3mm	1018-3	L10	23cm
c Pot	Grooved	Coarse	Buff	Plain	32cm / 11mm	1092-8	R11	53cm
d ?	Direct	Coarse	Buff	Plain	15cm / 16.5mm	1219-16	M14	15cm
e ?	Direct	Unknown	Buff	Incised undulating bands & rows of notches	21cm(?) / 6mm	1109-16	Q10	11cm
f Jar?	Tapered	Medium	Buff	Plain	12cm(?) / 6mm	1206-27	Q9	-4cm
g Goblet?	Tapered	Very fine	Dark gray	Vertical rows of notches	8cm / 3mm	1073-4	R10	130cm
h ?	Tapered	Very fine	Buff	Painted in ochreous red	21cm(?) / 3.5mm	1311-1	K10	-9cm
i ?	Direct	Medium	Buff	Plain	16cm(?) / 5mm	1206-7	Q9	-4cm
j ?	?	Medium	Buff	Parallel convex bands & traces of glaze	? / 4mm	1122-55	R10	27-108cm
k ?	?	Coarse	Black	Parallel relief bands & notches	? / 4mm	1110-64	R10	43cm
l ?	?	Unknown	Red	Parallel relief bands, undulating incised band, & notches	? / 5mm	1099-9 (& 10)	Q10	17cm
m ?	?	Unknown	Black	A relief band & notches	? / 3.5mm	1208-2	P9	-4cm
n Handle	-	Coarse	Black	Plain	Th. of Handle 8.5mm	1110-87	R10	43cm
o Handle	-	Medium (grit & veg. ?)	Buff	Plain	Max. Th. of Handle 15mm	1119-4	R11	36cm
p ?	?	Coarse (grit & veg. ?)	Red & whit. stains / dark gray	Tight parallel convex bands	? / 6.5-9mm	1096-17	P10	26cm
q ?	?	Coarse	Buff	Two joined convex bands	? / 13mm	1111-21	R9	31cm
r ?	?	Medium	Black	A rib	? / 7mm	1117-9	P9	14cm

Table 20 - Statistical table of imprecise forms, General Assemblage (figs. 180-181)

	Rim					Fabric					Color					Decoration							Undeco.	Size																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														
	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e	Aa	b	c	d	e	f	Aa		b	c	d	e	f	Aa	b	c	d	e	f																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
r								X						X			X																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					

Table 21 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figures 182-183

Form	Rim	Color	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label
a Pot	Unknown	Black			Plain	30.4cm/12mm/28.4cm	Sh. Sa. S3
b Pot	Medium	Light buff			Plain	23.5cm/13mm/18.9cm	Sh. Sa. S2
c Jar	Medium	Light gray/brown. gray			Ribs, convex bands, incised oblique bars, & notches	22.2cm/5mm/28cm	Sh. Sa. S13-14, 16
d Jar	Unknown	Black			Relief & incised straight & undulating bands, & notches	28cm/16mm	Sh. Sa. S1

Table 22 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figures 184-185

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label
a Jar	Broad	Medium	Black/red. black		Relief bands	24.5cm/6mm	Q. Sh. S. S2
b Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Buff		A convex band	28cm/12mm	Q. Sh. S. S8
c Jar	Tapered	Medium	Dark buff		Plain	18cm/9mm	Q. Sh. S. S11
d Jar	Triangular	Coarse	Ochreous red		Incised band & notches	23cm/7.5mm	Q. Sh. S. S12
e Jar	Broad	Medium	Black/red. black		A convex band	19.1cm/7mm	Q. Sh. S. S3
f Jar	Broad	Medium	Black		A convex band	17cm/5mm	Q. Sh. S. S13
g Jar	Triangular	Medium	Pink. buff/brick red		Convex bands	9cm/5mm	Q. Sh. S. S6
h Jar	Direct	Unknown	Buff		Convex & incised bands	28cm/14mm	Q. Sh. S. S14
i Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Buff		Convex bands	29.2cm/16mm	Q. Sh. S. S8 bis
j Jar	Triangular	Coarse	Light buff		Convex & incised bands & chevrons	24cm/14mm	Q. Sh. S. S5
k Bottle	Triangular	Fine	Buff		Green glaze	3.1cm/5mm	Q. Sh. S. S19
l Pot?	Direct	Coarse	Light gray		A convex band, incised straight & undulating bands	?/28mm	Q. Sh. S. S17
m Pot?	Triangular	Unknown	Buff		A convex band & oblique crossed bars	?/22mm	Q. Sh. S. S18
n Jug?	Tapered	Medium	Gray		Plain	?/6.5mm	Q. Sh. S. S16
o ?	?	Medium	Black		Parallel ribs	?/6-9.5mm	Q. Sh. S. S7
p ?	?	Very coarse	Light gray		A wide relief band, incised band & oblique bars	?/23mm	Q. Sh. S. S9
q ?	?	Medium	Light gray		Parallel incised & undulating bands	?/11mm	Q. Sh. S. S1
r ?	?	Medium	Black/light gray		Incised bands, oblique bars & notches	?/5mm	Q. Sh. S. S15

Table 23 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 186

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label
a	Jar	Direct	Very coarse	Light buff	A convex band	5.5cm/7.5mm/4.8cm	Ch. S. S15
b	Jar	Triangular	Fine	Dark gray	A convex band & undulating incised band(s?)	19cm/5mm	Ch. S. S19
c	Jar	Broad	Medium	Miscellaneous	-	19.7cm/5mm	Ch. S. S7
d	Jar	Direct	Coarse	Green. buff	A convex band, incised undulating & straight bands, notches	26cm/21.5mm	Ch. S. S1
e	Pot?	Triangular	Very coarse	Brick red	A relief band & crossed incised bars	?/12mm	Ch. S. S3
f	?	?	Coarse, red. gray	Dark gray	Relief & undulating incised bands, V shaped incision	?/4-7.5mm	Ch. S. S17
g	?	?	Medium	Gray	-	?/5mm/7.1cm	Ch. S. S8

Table 24 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 187

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label
a	Jar	Tapered	Unknown	Unknown	A convex band	8.9cm/3mm	Q. S. K. S2
b	Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Unknown	Convex bands	8cm/3.5mm	Q. S. K. S1
c	Jar	Broad	Unknown	Unknown	Plain (?)	14.3cm/3mm	Q. S. K. S3
d	Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Unknown	A convex band	7.2cm/4.5mm	Q. S. K. S7
e	?	Grooved	Unknown	Unknown	Vertical groovings?	?/3mm	Q. S. K. S18

Table 25 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figures 188-189

	Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label
a	Everted bowl (?)	Triangular	Fine	Yellow, buff	Plain	36cm/10mm	Sh. Dj. S1
b	Everted bowl (?)	Triangular	Very coarse	Gray, buff	Plain	35cm/10mm	Sh. Dj. S2
c	Pot	Triangular	Very coarse	Buff	Relief & incised undulating bands	41cm/10mm	Sh. Dj. S18
d	Jar	Broad	Medium	Dark gray	Parallel convex bands	17cm/4.5mm	Sh. Dj. S16
e	Jar	Triangular	Coarse	Black	Convex & incised bands & notches	28cm/6.5mm	Sh. Dj. S6
f	Jar	Triangular	Fine	Miscellaneous/red	Plain	12cm/4.5mm	Sh. Dj. S15
g	Jar	Triangular	Unknown	Black	Relief bands	10.5mm/4mm	Sh. Dj. S7
h	Jar?	Triangular	Coarse	Dark gray	Relief bands	15cm/4.5mm	Sh. Dj. S8
i	Jug (?)	Triangular	Very coarse	Buff	Plain	10.4cm/6mm	Sh. Dj. S3
j	?	Triangular	Coarse	Black	Plain	44(?) / 13mm	Sh. Dj. S9 (& 22)
k	Pot?	Grooved	Very coarse	Buff	Incised chevrons & straight band	?/21mm	Sh. Dj. S19
l	Jar?	Triangular	Medium	Miscellaneous/red, buff	Plain	12.5cm (?) / 3mm	Sh. Dj. S5
m	Jar?	Triangular	Coarse	Black	Incised bands	16.8cm/6.5mm	Sh. Dj. S13
n	?	?	Coarse	Red	Convex & incised undulating bands	?/4mm	Sh. Dj. S10
o	?	?	Coarse	Light gray	A convex band	?/5-7mm	Sh. Dj. S12
p	?	?	Unknown	Black	Rib & convex band	?/7-10mm	Sh. Dj. S13 (bis?)
q	?	?	Coarse	Gray	-	?/10.5/11.1cm	Sh. Dj. S4

Table 26 - Characteristics of ceramics illustrated in figure 190

Form	Rim	Fabric	Color	Decoration	Size	Field label
a Bowl	Tapered	Medium	Buff	Inner surface green glazed	26cm/5mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S7
b Jar	Triangular	Medium	Black/buff	Relief & undulating incised bands	15.1cm/5mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S5
c Pot (?)	Triangular	Medium	Buff	Inner & outer surfaces painted in brown	?/7.5mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S10
d Jar (?)	Triangular	Medium	Buff	Inner surface rough blue glazed	10.3cm/2.5mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S6
e Jar	Triangular	Medium	Black/buff	Relief bands	17cm/6.5mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S1
f ?	?	Fine	Black/buff	A row (?) of superimposed relief triangles	?cm/4.5mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S12
g ?	?	Coarse	Black	Relief bands	?/7.9mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S13
h ?	?	Medium	Green. buff	Inner surface painted in brown	?/B.6mm	Sh. Dj. 2 S11

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of the following discussion is to put the Manor House in its historical and art historical perspectives. Because of the wide variety of subjects covered, the treatment of them must of necessity be brief and selective.

The discussion must begin with the question of the identifications of the busts. If the identifications suggested in chapter IV are reliable, then, a more precise chronology can be established.

The suggestion made in chapters III and IV concerning the structure and function of different sections of the Manor House and corresponding areas in several other large-scale residential buildings, will be discussed in the second section of this chapter. This will enable us to see, if and to what extent, these conclusions influence our understandings of Iranian architecture and the history of its art.

In the third part of this discussion I will consider the importance of the Manor House in relation to its immediate environment and, in a wider context, to the Sasanian empire.

Historical Context and Chronology

As mentioned in chapter IV, royal busts 17 and 20 from the Manor House depict Šāpūr II. Reference to this chronology has been made several times in the previous five chapters; this dating provided the basis for the summary of events which took place during the reign of Šāpūr II (ch. I.2). This king reigned from A.D. 309 to 379, during which time the Manor House may have been built. However, a more precise chronology for the site would only be developed in the light of consideration of bust 23.

The chronology of the Kūšanšāhs, as suggested by A.D.H. Bivar, depends upon the

identification of that Iranian king who, in A.D. 359, was seen by Ammianus Marcellinus under the walls of the besieged Roman fortress of Amida. According to Bivar's interpretation, this king was not Šāpūr II, as had always been believed, but Bahrām II Kūšanšāh. Bahrām's crown is described by Ammianus Marcellinus as a «golden image of a ram's head set with precious stones...»¹.

Bivar argues that «each of the Sasanian kings was distinguished, on coins and in art, by a characteristic crown, which he no doubt also wore in real life. The headdress of Shapur II was a crenelated crown, and not one of the type described by Ammianus.» Bivar concludes that «it is true, however, that the characteristic headdress of Vahran II Kushanshah, quite probably a contemporary of Shapur II, was in the form of ram's head. It seems likely, therefore, that the Persian prince seen by Ammianus was not in fact Shapur, but the Kushanshah Vahran II, who is thus shown to have been active in A.D. 360»².

The presence of a bust of Bahrām Kūšanšāh in area 114 suggests that the Manor House was built, or was decorated, when this prince was still in power, i.e. around A.D. 359. It seems, however, that soon after this date the Hunnish tribes put an end to Bahrām's reign³. Later, when Šāpūr II in A.D. 363 had to gather all his forces against Julian the Apostate, Ammianus tells us the names of the most important Iranian generals. The king who wore a diadem with ram's head (or horns), seems not to have been one of them⁴,

¹ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, 1, XIX, 1, 3.

² BIVAR, «Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Governors», pp. 327-328; Id., «History of Eastern Iran», pp. 210-211. The problem with Bivar's suggestion is that the crown described by Ammianus Marcellinus was a «ram's head» and not ram horns, as are found on the crown of Bahrām Kūšanšāh.

³ Id., «History of Eastern Iran», p. 212.

⁴ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, 2, XXV, 1, 11.

although it is possible that Ammianus did not know every general of the Iranian army.

Although scholars disagree with one another about the absolute chronology of the Kūšānšāhs⁵, they more or less agree on the sequence of these princes. Almost all are convinced that Bahrām II was the last in line of the Kūšānšāh dynasty⁶. The reign of this king seems to have been rather short. Ch. Brunner suggests he ruled for 9 years, from ca. A.D. 325 to ca. A.D. 334⁷. R. Göbl places all the Kūšānšāh in the second half of the fourth century⁸. In this case, naturally, Bahrām II's share of the reigning years could not have been extensive. M. Carter, in her recent publication, suggests that the coins portraying rulers wearing ram horns belonged to two Kūšānšāhs and not one. The combined reign of these two (Bahrām II and Peroz of Gandhara), according to Carter, lasted for about 15 years, from A.D. 340 to A.D. 355⁹. However, if Bivar is correct in his identification of the king who was present in the siege of Amida in A.D. 359 as Bahrām II, then his reign must have lasted until shortly after A.D. 359.

Only a few busts were applied on the walls of room 114, among which the bust here identified as that of Bahrām II. The small number of busts suggests that the aristocrats represented were probably the most distinguished personalities of the empire. If Bahrām II is indeed depicted here, we may deduce that he was still in power as the ruling governor when the busts were mounted on the walls of L. 114. Therefore, the Manor House may have been built, or decorated, during the short period of his reign before or about A.D. 359.

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the life of the site was brief. It seems that this large house had yet to be occupied when, in a dramatic moment, work on it was abandoned. Artists and craftsmen were still working on the decoration of the building when a sudden event intervened. The painter abandoned his palette covered with red paint (Fig. 166) and the blacksmith, his kiln and metal pieces, some still in the kiln. Moreover, had the house been occupied, we would have found signs of occupation: we would have been able to find at least some traces of daily life left

behind by the occupants, just as the painter and the blacksmith had left some remnants behind. In contrast, everything was bare. This bareness was not the result of meticulous and systematic plundering either. There was no evidence of an attack or any kind of assault on the Manor House.

However, it is not only the absence of artifacts that suggests that the house was never occupied before it was abandoned. Many structures are devoid of artifacts when excavated, yet we do not consider them unoccupied buildings. What supports the hypothesis that the Manor House was never occupied is precisely the contrast between, on the one hand, the presence of objects used in the final stages of work on the building, and, on the other hand, the absence of any supporting evidence from other parts of the structure, i.e., the quarter which served as living areas. It appears, therefore, that the building was destined to die before it was born. It suffered a premature death and a definitive abandonment.

Site 17, the only other structure which we excavated in the area (ch. II, pp. 17-20), presents a similar pattern of sudden abandon-

⁵ Scholars do not agree on the absolute chronology of the Kūšānšāhs. According to some scholars, like Herzfeld and Bivar, Sasanian rule over the Kūšān empire began at about A.D. 230, when Ardašīr I defeated the Kūšāns, and was ended by the invasion of the Huns between A.D. 350-360. R. Göbl puts the entire hegemony of the Kūšānšāhs into the second half of the fourth century A.D., while V.G. Lukonin dates the rule of those governors between A.D. 367 and 440 (CARTER, «A Numismatic Reconstruction», note 1). According to these interpretations, the years of Šāpūr II's wars in the east could be considered either as the beginning of the Sasanian domination of the Kūšān empire or the end of it. There are, however, also other interpretations which cover part of one and another of these chronologies.

⁶ BIVAR, «History of Eastern Iran», pp. 209-210; BRUNNER, Chronology of the Sasanian Kūšānšāh», p. 161; GÖBL, *System und Chronologie*, p. 80; CARTER («A Numismatic Reconstruction», table 1, p. 276) identifies two princes who wear this crown: Bahrām Kūšānšāh and Peroz of Gandhara.

⁷ BRUNNER, Chronology of the Sasanian Kūšānšāh», p. 162.

⁸ GÖBL, *System und Chronologie*, pp. 79-86.

⁹ CARTER, «A Numismatic Reconstruction», table 1, p. 276. See also: CRIBB, «Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology», pp. 153-162.

ment. There, the priest had probably not even had the time to save the religious emblem (Figs. 19-20)¹⁰.

*Architecture and Decoration:
a Broader Comparison*

I have already concluded in chapter III of this work (pp. 54-56) that the excavations of the Manor House enable us to recognize the layout of the principal divisions in Sasanian large-scale residential architecture. I have also suggested that, until the last century and the westernization of the country, the Iranian aristocratic house remained basically unmodified. No doubt further excavations at sites such as Qal'eh-i Yazdigird and Bišāpūr will demonstrate whether palaces also followed the same overall pattern, as comparison with the plan of the Manor House and several other sites strongly suggests. Only then can we get a sound grasp of Iranian pre-Islamic palatial architecture and its characteristics.

The excavations at the Manor House, meanwhile, demonstrate the need for a methodological reconsideration of pre-Islamic Iranian architecture. In this regard a review of the function of many of the so-called Sasanian palaces becomes virtually inevitable. Buildings such as Qal'a-ye Dukhtar and the Palace of Ardašīr in Fīrūzābād reveal only very inadequately one or another part of the suggested, quadripartite subdivisions. It appears that they are called palaces primarily because of their large size and not because of their structural composition. However, a detailed examination of the needs of a royal court has never been undertaken to support the identification of these monuments as palaces and in many cases their attributed function seems inappropriate.

It should be emphasized, however, that the excavations of the Manor House alone do not yield as much information as we need to draw all the right conclusions, though they are sufficient to begin a structural analysis of the composition of Sasanian palatial buildings.

Apart from the enormous wealth of the finds and the breadth of their artistic appeal, the stucco work of the Manor House is re-

markable for several other reasons. Many of these stuccos demonstrate the synthesis and continuity of two different traditions, one Hellenistic and the other Iranian, over a long period of time. The small nude boys holding bunches of grapes refer to some sort of Dionysiac tradition, while the human-headed bulls go back, through Iranian art, to the Assyrian and Babylonian mythologies. Moreover, the fluted shafts and bell-shaped column bases decorated with gadroons are clear signs of the survival of Achaemenid art, seven hundred years after Alexander the Great. This sharply contradicts the prevalent idea that the presence of Achaemenid motifs in official (royal) Sasanian architecture was due to a deliberate nationalistic policy on the part of the Sasanian kings to revive past traditions. The use of these elements, as well as the human-headed bulls, in the chapel of the Manor House (Section C) suggests that part of the Achaemenid repertoire had survived the fall of the dynasty. It then reappeared during the Sasanian period, and possibly even earlier, and was incorporated into the religious imagery and, thereby, integrated into the national cultural heritage.

The question of stylistic changes within the stucco work of the Manor House has already been addressed in a previous chapter (pp. 164-165). It has often been assumed that stylistic variations reflect changes taking place over different chronological periods. Our findings indicate that these assumptions are not always correct since we have shown that different artistic styles have co-existed.

As with the stuccos of the Manor House, the importance of the murals is not only quantitative but qualitative. Prior to the discovery

¹⁰ The reasons behind this abrupt abandonment are unknown, though they may have been linked to the abandonment of a wide region. Although the small number of the excavated sites from this period make it extremely hazardous to draw any firm conclusion, a probable break in the occupation of Qasr-i Abu Nasr, some 300 km. west of Hājīrābād, may well have been part of the same phenomenon. The hypothesis concerning the abandonment of Qasr-i Abu Nasr is based on the lack of numismatic evidence for the century between A.D. 350 and 450 (WHITCOMB, *Before the Roses and Nightingales*, p. 20).

of the wall paintings from the Manor House we were unaware of portraiture in Sasanian art. The very few and fragmentary Sasanian wall paintings discovered before the Hājīābād excavations seemed to confirm Western sources. According to these, Iranian wall paintings of this period were exclusively of battle and hunting scenes¹¹. The portraits from the public audience hall of the Manor House – reminiscent of the Roman *Imago clipeata* – prove otherwise.

Although hunting and jousting scenes occupied an important place in the Parthian and Sasanian murals, they were by no mean the sole themes.

The Manor House and Its Environment

The results of the preliminary survey in the area surrounding the excavated site suggest that all the settlements belong to the same period. Although more work – both survey and excavation – is certainly necessary to confirm this conclusion, at this stage we can suggest that there was no pre-Sasanian settlement among the surveyed sites. Pre-Sasanian sites, however, may be found a few kilometers away. Some of these sites, like Dārābgerd, are of considerable size and major importance.

The presence of a rather uniform irrigation system, throughout the surveyed settlements, may indeed suggest that no settlement would have been viable in the areas below Kōsū (to the northeast of Hājīābād: Fig. 2 and Ch. II), without artificial irrigation. Today the scattered agricultural activities in the vicinity depend totally on irrigation.

The uniformity of the irrigation system also suggests that the entire network was probably initiated by a «central» decision maker, conceivably a feudal lord, who could afford the cost of the project. Part of the surveyed area, may thus have prospered thanks to the investments of a feudal lord, and it is conceivable that this same lord may have built the Manor House as his residence.

The most plausible interpretation of the settlement pattern in the surveyed area is that it was divided into two separate parts, one belonging to the lord in the southern sector around the excavated structure, and the other,

to the king, indicated by the position of the fortifications and the defensive walls (Fig. 2, sites 19, 15, 12, and 24) around the town (Fig. 2, site 21). The fortifications would appear to defend the town from the area to the south and southwest in which the Manor House and several hamlets are situated. In this respect the position of sites 12 and 24 is particularly revealing. The watch tower, site no. 24, completely overlooks the area to the south, and the wall, site no. 12, separates the two ends of the gorge connecting the two valleys in which the town and the Manor House were built.

It is possible, however, that the position of the defensive system of the town vis-à-vis the Manor House, was of no major importance. The Manor House could have been an isolated countryside villa. But, if the town's defensive system was actually built to defend the town against the countryside rather than any foreign intervention (since Hājīābād, in Fārs, the heartland of the Sasanian dynasty, could hardly be threatened by any foreign force), one can reach important conclusions.

The end of the fourth century A.D. was the beginning of a long period during which aristocrats threatened to dominate the political scene in Iran. During this period, the central government, i.e. the King of Kings, was markedly weakened. Future research in the Hājīābād area (or other sites with similar characteristics) will be enormously helpful in understanding the interaction between the town and the countryside. Site no. 21, the small town of the Hājīābād area, had priests (who officiated in the temples, sites 17-18), soldiers (who garrisoned the fortification, site 19), and most probably also some artisans. During the Sasanian period, priests were appointees of the chief priest¹² and artisans were controlled by the «chief of the craftsmen»¹³, both members of the royal court.

¹¹ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXIV., 6, 3 and confirmed by GHIRSHMAN, *Parthes et Sassanides*, pp. 182-183.

¹² CHRISTENSEN, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 118-119; HINZ, «Die Inschrift des Hohenpriesters Kardér», pp. 259-261, § 1-9; GIGNOUX, «L'inscription de Kirdir», pp. 181-187, § 3-28.

¹³ CHRISTENSEN, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 123; LUKONIN, «Political, Social and Administrative Taxes and Trade Institutions», p. 738.

Therefore, assuming that the soldiers were from the king's army, we realize that even in the regions as far away from the capital as that under discussion, the central government was well represented. At the same time the countryside was controlled increasingly by the landed nobility¹⁴. This conflict of authority would have had obvious consequences, ending in the social disorder manifested during the following century. Further research will enable us to better understand the process of these changes within Sasanian society.

When in 311 A.D. Šāpūr son of Hormizd King of Kings, the appointed king of «Sakastan, Turestan and Hind, to the shores of the sea,» was on his way to his domain in the east, he had to cross the province of Fārs. In Persepolis, he rested and ordered an inscription to be carved on the walls of the palace of Darius¹⁵. Several years later, when a judge called Sloke (Seleucus) was going from Kabul to the royal court, he passed through Persepolis, leaving us another inscription¹⁶. These testify to the importance of Fārs as a major crossroads between the eastern and the western halves of the Sasanian empire. The surveyed areas around Hājīābād were indeed very close to this major road, going from Estakr to Dārābgerd, a provincial center close to Hājīābād. Dārābgerd probably also connected Fārs with the ports of the adjoining province, Kermān¹⁷.

Moreover, and until very recently, the main road between Dārābgerd and Lār, leading to the ports of the Persian Gulf, crossed the area of Hājīābād. The surveyed and excavated sites in the areas surrounding Hājīābād, therefore, were not isolated, as they appear to be at the present time. This proximity of the excavated site to the major roads running between Dārābgerd and the Persian Gulf, accounts for the presence of this very important monument, the Manor House, in this area.

¹⁴ «Vahrām V ordonna à son avènement que les impôts arriérés qui se montaient à 70 millions de drachmes, fussent remis et que l'impôt foncier de l'année de son avènement fût diminué d'un tiers.» (CHRISTENSEN, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 119). This and similar passages suggest that the mass of the population was unable to pay their taxes. Peasants had to pay tax to the feudal lord, to government, or to both (*ibidem*, p. 321). Submission to a feudal lord was increasingly seen as a means of protection against heavy taxation. Aristocrats were exempt from tax and could, therefore, charge less than the central government. The result was a gradual shift of the number of free peasants and those who lived in fiefs, and, consequently, a reduction of the number of tax payers in favour of the feudal lords.

¹⁵ HERZFELD, *Paikuli*, I, p. 121; LUKONIN, *Kul'tura Sasanidskogo*, pp. 207-208.

¹⁶ HERZFELD, *Paikuli*, I, p. 122; LUKONIN, *Persian Civilization*, p. 208-209.

¹⁷ BRUNNER, «Geographical and Administrative Divisions», p. 751.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACKERMAN, PHYLLIS «The Moon and Fertility in Early Iran», *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, IV (1936), pp. 184-190.
- «Sasanian Seals», in A. U. POPE ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1938-39): 1, pp. 784-816.
- ADAMS, ROBERT MCC. «Tell Abū Sarīfa; A Sasanian Islamic Ceramic Sequence From South Central Iraq», *Ars Orientalis*, 8 (1970), pp. 78-119.
- *The Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land use on the Central Flood Plain of Euphrates* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981).
- ALDEN, JOHN R. and J. M. BALCER «Excavations at Tal-i Malyan: I. A Sasanian Kiln; II. Parthian and Sasanian Coins and Burials (1976)», *Iran* XVI (1978), pp. 79-92.
- ALRAM, M. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* (Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986).
- AMET, PIERRE *La Glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1961).
- «Les Antiquités du Proche et du Moyen-Orient», *Revue du Louvre*, 23 (1973), pp. 46-52.
- *Glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses Achéménides*, 2 vols., Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran, 43 (Paris, Geuthner, 1972).
- «Quelques observations sur le Palais de Darius à Suse», *Syria*, 51 (1974), pp. 65-73.
- [AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 3 vols., J. C. ROLFE trans., Loeb Classical Library, 300, 315, 331 (London, Heinemann and Harvard University Press, 1935-1957).
- ANDRAE, WALTER *Hatra; nach Aufnahmen von Mitglie dern der Assur-Expedition der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 2 vols., Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 9 and 21 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1908-1912).
- ANDRAE, WALTER and HEINRICH LENZEN *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 57 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1933).
- [ANQUETIL-DUPERRON] «Exposition des usages civils et religieux des Parses», in R. SCHWAB, *Vie d'Anquetil-Duperron* (Paris, 1934), pp. 133-1963.
- AZARNOUSH, MASSOUD «Excavations at Hājiābād, 1977: First Preliminary Report», *Iranica Antiqua*, XVIII (1983), pp. 159-176.
- «Les Fouilles de Hājiābād (Iran), 1977», in *Arabie orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran méridional de l'Age du Fer au début de la période islamique* (Paris, Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1984), pp. 307-315.
- «A New Sassanian Temple in Eastern Fars», *Iranica Antiqua*, XIX (1984), pp. 167-200.
- «Šāpūr II, Ardašīr II, and Šāpūr III: Another Perspective», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 19 (1986), pp. 219-247.
- *Sassanian Art in eastern Fars: The Excavation of a Manor House at Hajiabad, Darab, Iran* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms International, 1987), Dissertation.
- AZARPAY, GUITTY «Crowns and Some Royal Insignia in Early Iran», *Iranica Antiqua*, IX (1972), pp. 108-116.
- «Bishapur VI: An Artistic Record of an Armeno-Persian Alliance in the Fourth Century», *Artibus Asiae*, 43 (1981-1982), pp. 171-189.
- «The Role of Mithra in the Investiture and Triumph of Šāpūr II», *Iranica Antiqua*, XVII (1982), pp. 181-189.
- AZARPAY, GUITTY *et al.* *Sogdian Painting: the Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981).
- BAKHTIAR, A. A. and R. HILLENBRAND, «Domestic Architecture in Nineteenth Century Iran: the Manzil-i Sartip near Isfahan», in *Qajar Iran; Political, Social and Cultural Change, 1800-1925* (Edinburgh-London-Melbourne, Edinburgh University Press, 1983), pp. 383-393.
- BALFET, H. «Terminologie de la céramique», in A. LEROI-GOURHAN *et al.*, *La Préhistoire*, Nouvelle Clio, 1 (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1966), pp. 272-278.
- BECKWITH, JOHN *The Art of Constantinople: An Introduction to Byzantine Art 330-1453* (London, Phaidon Press, 1961).
- [BEL'AMI] *Chronique de Abou-Djafar... Tabari*, M. H. ZOTENBERG trans., 4 vols. (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1958).
- BELL, GERTRUD L. *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidar*

- (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914).
- BENY, ROLOFF *et al.* *Persia, Bridge of Turquoise* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1975).
- BERNARD, PAUL «Les traditions orientales dans l'architecture gréco-bactrienne», *Journal Asiatique*, 264 (1976), pp. 245-275.
- BIDEZ, J. *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, Collection des Universités de France (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1930).
- BIER, LIONEL *Sarvestan. A Study in Early Iranian Architecture* (University Park and London, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).
- BIVAR, ADRIAN D.H. «The Kaniska Dating from Surkh Kotal», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 26 (1963), pp. 498-502.
- *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Stamp Seals, II: The Sasanian Dynasty* (London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1969).
- «The Absolute Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Governors in Central Asia», in J. HARMATTA ed., *Prolegomena to the Sources of the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), pp. 317-332.
- «The Sasanian Period», in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 29 vols. (Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica, [First Ed.: 1768-1771] Fifteenth Ed. [1974] 1989): 21, pp. 882-888.
- «The History of Eastern Iran», in W.B. FISHER *et al.* ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1968-1985): 3 (1), pp. 181-232.
- BOUCHARLAT, RÉMY «Chahar Taq et Temple du feu sassanide: quelques remarques», in Id. ed., *De l'Indus aux Balkans; Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris, Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985), pp. 461-478.
- BOUCHARLAT, RÉMY *et al.* *Fouilles de Tureng Tepe; 1. Les périodes sassanides et islamiques* (Paris, Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987).
- BOYCE, MARY «On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire», *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 95 (1975), pp. 454-465.
- BRUNNER, CHRISTOPHER J. «The Chronology of the Sasanian Kūšānšāhs», *The American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes*, 19 (1974), pp. 145-164.
- «Geographical and Administrative Divisions: Settlements and Economy», in W.B. FISHER *et al.* ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1968-1985): 3 (2), pp. 747-777.
- BRUNO, ANDREA *et al.*, «The Preservation and Restoration of Ṭāq-Kiṣrā», *Mesopotamia*, I (1966), pp. 89-108.
- CARTER, MARTA L. «Dionysiac Aspects of Kushan Art», *Ars Orientalis*, 7 (1968), pp. 121-146.
- «A Numismatic Reconstruction of Kushano-Sasanian History», *The American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes*, 30 (1985), pp. 215-281.
- CHAMOUX, FRANÇOIS *La civilisation grecque à l'époque archaïque et classique* (Paris, Arthaud, 1963).
- CHAUMONT, MARIE-LOUISE «Etats vassaux dans l'empire des premiers Sassanides», in *Acta Iranica*, 4 (Téhéran-Liège, Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975), pp. 89-156.
- CHRISTENSEN, ARTHUR E., *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, Levin and Munksgaard, 1936).
- [CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA] *Clement of Alexandria*, G.W. BUTTERWORTH trans., Loeb Classical Library, 92 (London, Heinemann and Putman's Sons, 1919).
- COLLART, PAUL «Le Sanctuaire de Baal-Shemen», *Archeologia*, 10 (1967), pp. 52-56.
- COLLART, PAUL *et al.* *Le Sanctuaire de Balshamin à Palmyre*, 7 vols. (Switzerland, Institut Suisse de Rome, 1969-1970).
- COLLEDGE, MALCOLM A.R. *The Art of Palmyra* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1976).
- *Parthian Art* (London, Eleh, 1977).
- CORDRINGTON, H.W. *Excavation in the Citadel*, 5 vols., A.M. HOCART ed., *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* (Colombo, Richards, 1924-1946): 1, pp. 48-53.
- COSTE, PASCAL *Monuments modernes de la Perse* (Paris, Morel, 1867).
- CRIBB, JOE «Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology», *Studia Iranica*, 19, 2 (1990), pp. 151-193, pls. I-VIII.
- CURIEL, RAOUL and HENRI, SEYRIG «Une intaille iranienne», in D.K. KOUYMJIAN ed., *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy, and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, American University of Beirut, 1974), pp. 55-59.
- DARMESTER, JAMES trans. *The Zend-Avesta*, F.M. MÜLLER ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, IV, XXIII, XXXI (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1883).
- trans. *Le Zend-Avesta*, 3 vols., *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 21-22, 24 (Paris, Leroux, 1892-1893).
- DEBEVOISE, N.C. «The Origin of Decorative Stucco», *American Journal of Archaeology*, 45 (1941), pp. 45-61.
- DE MIROSCHEJJI, PIERRE «Prospection dans les vallées de Fasa et Darab», in *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehrān, Iran Bāstān Museum, 1972), pp. 1-8.
- DIEULAFOY, JANE *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane; Relation de voyage* (Paris, 1887).

- GNOLI, GHERARDO «L'inscription de Šābuhr à la Ka'ābe-ye Zardošt et la propagande sassanide», in BERNARD, PAUL and FRANZ GRENET eds., *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale pre-islamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques* (Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), pp. 57-63.
- GÖBL, ROBERT *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1967).
- *Sasanidische Numismatik*, Handbücher der Mittelasiatischen Numismatik, 1 (Braunschweig, Klinkhardt und Breimann, 1968).
 - *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušānreiches* (Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984).
- GODARD, ANDRÉ *L'Art de l'Iran* (Paris, Arthaud, 1962).
- «Les monuments du feu», *Athār-e Irān*, III (1938), pp. 5-80.
- GROPP, GERD «Die Funktion des Feuertempels der Zoroastrier», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 2 (1969), pp. 147-176.
- «Die Pahlavi-Inschrift auf dem Thomaskreuz in Madras», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 3 (1970), pp. 267-271.
 - «Die Sasanian-Inschrift des Abnun in Nasrabad», in *Proceedings of the 2nd European Conference of Iranian Studies. Bamberg, Sept. 30-Oct. 4, 1991* (forthcoming).
- GULLINI, GIORGIO *Architettura iranica dagli Achemenidi ai Sasanidi: il «palazzo» di Kuh-i Khwāja, Seistan* (Torino, Einaudi, 1964).
- HAERINK, E. *La céramique en Iran pendant la période parthe (ca. 250 av. J.C. à ca. 225 après J.C.): Typologie, chronologie et distribution*, *Iranica Antiqua*, Supplément II (Gent, Iranica Antiqua, 1983).
- HANSMAN, JOHN and DAVID STRONACH «Excavation at Shahr-i Qumis, 1971», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (1974), pp. 8-22.
- HARDEN, D.B. «II. Pottery», in S. LANGDON and D.B. HARDEN «Excavations at Kish and Barghuthiat, 1933», *Iraq*, 1 (1934), pp. 113-136.
- HARPER, PRUDENCE O. «A Stucco King from Sasanian Kish» in L.D. LEVINE and T. CUYLER YOUNG jr. ed., *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* (Malibu, Undena Publications, 1977), pp. 75-79.
- HARPER, PRUDENCE O. and P. MEYERS, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period. Volume one: Royal Imagery* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981).
- HARRISON, J.V. «Geology», in W.B. FISHER et al. ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1968-1985): 1, pp. 111-185.
- HARTMANN, SVEN S. «Parsism the Religion of Zoroaster», *Iconography of Religions*, 14 (1980), pp. 1-30.
- HENNING, W.B. «A List of Middle Persian and Parthian Words», in *Acta Iranica*, 14 (Téhéran-Liège, Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977): 1, pp. 559-573.
- [HERODOTUS] *Herodotus*, 4 vols., A.D. GODLEY trans., Loeb Classical Library, 1, 17-120 (London, Heinemann and Putman's Sons, 1921-1926).
- HERRMANN, GEORGINA *The Iranian Revival* (Oxford, Elsevier-Phaidon, 1977).
- HERRMANN, GEORGINA and R. HOWELL, *Naqsh-e Rostam 5 and 8*, *Iranische Denkmäler, Lieferung 8, Reihe II, Iranische Felsreliefs D* (Berlin, Reimer, 1977).
- *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 1*, *Iranische Denkmäler, Lieferung 9, Reihe II, Iranische Felsreliefs E* (Berlin, Reimer, 1980).
 - *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, *Iranische Denkmäler, Lieferung 10, Reihe II, Iranische Felsreliefs F* (Berlin, Reimer, 1981).
- HERRMANN, GEORGINA et al. *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 3*, *Iranische Denkmäler, Lieferung 11, Reihe II, Iranische Felsreliefs G* (Berlin, Reimer, 1983).
- HERZFELD, ERNST *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, Reimer, 1920).
- *Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, 2 vols. (Berlin, Reimer and Vohsen, 1924).
 - «Kushano-Sasanian Coins», *Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 38 (1930), pp. 1-51.
 - «Khusrau Parvêz und der Tāq-i Vastān», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 9 (1938), pp. 91-158.
 - *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, Oxford University Press, 1941).
- HINZ, WALTER «Die Inschrift des Hohenpriesters Kardēr am Turm von Naqsh-e Rostam», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 3 (1970), pp. 251-265.
- HOCART, A.M. «Editor's Note», in Id. ed., *Excavation in the Citadel Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* (Colombo, Richards, 1924).
- HOMÈS-FRÉDÉRICQ, DENYSE *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes* (Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1963).
- HÖNINGMANN, ERNEST and ANDRÉ MARICQ «Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis», *Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoires*, 47 (1953), pp. 39-87.

- HUFF, DIETRICH «Qal'a-ye Dukhtar bei Firuzabad: Ein Beitrag zur sassanidischen Palastarchitektur», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 4 (1971), pp. 127-172.
- «"Sasanian" Čāhār Taqs in Fārs», in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, Tehran, Iran, 2nd-7th November 1974* (Tehran, Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, 1975), pp. 243-254.
 - «Ausgrabungen auf Qal'a-ye Dukhtar, 1975», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 9 (1976), pp. 157-173.
 - «Takht-i Suleiman: Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1976», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 10 (1977), pp. 211-230.
- HUMBACH, HELMUT and P.O. SKJAERVØ, *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli* (Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert, 1983).
- [IBN OL-BALKĪ], *The Fārsnāma of Ibnu'l-Balkhī*, G. LE STRANGE and R.A. NICHOLSON ed. (London, Luzac and Co., 1968).
- IBN KHORDĀDBEH, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, M.J. DE GOEJE trans. (Leiden, Brill, 1889).
- INGHOLT, HARALD «Parthian Sculptures from Hatra; Orient and Hellas in Art and Religion», *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XII (1954).
- [JULIAN (FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS)], «Panegyric in Honour of the Emperor Constantius», in W.C. WRIGHT trans., *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, 3 vols., Loeb Classical Library, 13, 29, 157 (London, Heinemann and Macmillan, 1913-1923): 1, pp. 5-127.
- [KĀQĀNĪ-YE ŠERVĀNĪ], *Dīvān-e Kāqānī* (The Compilation of Kāqānī), ALI-YE 'ABDOLRASOULĪ ed. (Tehran, 1937).
- KAWAMI, TRUDY S. *Monumental Art of the Parthian Period in Iran*, Acta Iranica, 26, Troisième Série XIII (Leiden, Brill, 1987).
- KEALL, EDWARD J. «Some Thoughts on the Early Eywan», in D.K. KOUYMJIAN ed., *Studies in Honor of G. Miles: Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History* (Beirut, American, University Press, 1974), pp. 123-130.
- KEALL, EDWARD J. and M.J. KEALL «The Qal'eh-i Yazdigird Pottery: A Statistical Approach», *Iran*, XIX (1981), pp. 33-80.
- KETTENHOFEN, ERICH *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Šābpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartost (ŠKZ)*, Beiheft zum Tübingen Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, 55 (Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert, 1982).
- «Die Einforderung des Achämenidenertes durch Artaban: Eine Interpretatio Romana», *Iranica Iranica Periodica*, 15 (1984), pp. 177-190.
- KHAZAI, KHOSROW «L'évolution et la signification du griffon dans l'iconographie iranienne», *Iranica Antiqua*, 13 (1978), pp. 1-34.
- KIMBAL, FRISK «The Sasanian Building at Damghan (Tepe Hissar)», in A.U. POPE ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1938-1939): 1, pp. 579-583.
- KLEISS, WOLFRAM «Die sasanidischen Kapitelle aus Venderni bei Kamyaran nördlich Kermanchah», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1 (1968), pp. 143-147.
- «Bericht über zwei Erkundungsfahrten in Nordwest-Iran», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 2 (1969), pp. 7-119.
 - «Bericht über Erkundungsfahrten in Iran im Jahre 1971», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 5 (1972), pp. 135-242.
 - «Qal'eh Zohak in Azarbaïdjan», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 6 (1973), pp. 163-188.
 - «Beobachtung in der Umgebung von Persepolis und Naqš-i Rostam», *Archaeological Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 9 (1976), pp. 131-150.
- KOECHLIN, RAYMOND, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre*, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse, XIX (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1928).
- KRÖGER, JENS *Sasanidischer Stukdekor*, Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Baghdader Forschungen, 5 (Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1982).
- KÜHNEL, ERNST «Baudekor und Kleinfunde», in Id. et al., *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition. Winter 1931-32* (Berlin, Islamische Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen, 1933), pp. 16-31.
- LABOURT, JEROME *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (Paris, Lecoq, 1904).
- LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY, C.C. «Tepe Yahya 1971; Mesopotamia and the Indo-Iranian Borderlands», *Iran*, X (1972), pp. 89-100.
- LANE, ARTHUR *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, Faber and Faber, 1947).
- LANGDON, STEPHEN H. *Tammuz and Ishtar* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914).
- LECOMTE, OLIVIER «La céramique sassanide», in R. BOUCHARLAT et al., *Fouilles de Tureng Tepe, 1. Les périodes sassanides et islamiques* (Paris, Recherche sur les civilisations, 1987), pp. 94-119.
- LEGRAIN, LEON «Small Sculptures from Babylonian Tombs», *The Museum Journal* (of the University of Pennsylvania), 19 (1928), pp. 195-211.
- LE STRANGE, GUY *The Land of the Eastern Caliphate* (London, Frank Cass, [1905] 3rd ed.

- 1966).
- LUKONIN, VLADIMIR G. *Iran II*, Archaeologia Mundi (Paris, Nagel, 1967).
- *Kultura Sasanidskogo Irana* (Tamaddon-e Iran-e Sāsānī), E. REZA trans. (Tehran, Bongah-e Tarjomeh va Nasr-e Ketab, 1971).
- «Political, Social and Administrative Taxes and Trade», in W.B. FISHER *et al.* eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1968-1985): 3 (2), pp. 681-748.
- LUSCHEY, HEINZ «Zur Datierung des sasanidischen Kapitelle aus Bisutun und des Monuments von Taq-i Bostan», *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1 (1968), pp. 139-142.
- MACKENZIE, D.N. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London, Oxford University Press, 1971).
- MAÇOUDI, *Les prairies d'or*, 9 vols. C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD *et al.* trans. (Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861-1877).
- MANGO, CYRIL *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, Rizzoli, 1985).
- MARICQ, ANDRÉ «Res Gestae Divi Saporis», *Syria*, 35 (1958), pp. 295-360.
- MARSHALL, JOHN *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1951).
- MASSON, M.E. and GALINA A. PUGAČENKOVA *The Parthian Rhytons of Nisa* (Firenze, Le Lettere, 1982).
- MAURER TRINKAUS, KATHRYN «Pottery from the Damghan Plain: Chronology and Variability from the Parthian to the Early Islamic Period», *Studia Iranica*, 15 (1986), pp. 23-88.
- METZLER, DIETER «Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Darius-Palastes in Susa», in *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archaeologie, München, 7-10 September 1976* (Berlin, Reimer, 1979), pp. 217-218.
- MICHALOWSKI, KAZIMIERZ *Palmyre: Fouilles polonaises 1963 et 1964* (Varsovie, Edition scientifique de Pologne, 1966).
- MORIER, JACQUES *Voyage en Perse, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure, et à Constantinople, fait dans les années 1808 et 1809*, 3 vols. A. DUPE trans. (Paris, Nepveu, 1813).
- NAUMAN, RUDOLF «I. Die Grabungen auf dem Takht-i Suleiman: A. Die Grabungen im sasani-dischen Feuertemplekomplex», in *Id. et al.* «Takht-i Suleiman und Zendan-i Suleiman, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1964», *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1965, pp. 619-802.
- NEUSNER, JACOB *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, 5 vols. (Leiden, Brill, 1969-1970).
- NÖLDEKE, THEODOR *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leiden, Brill, 1879).
- PAGE, D.L. *The Santorini Volcano and the Desolation of Minoan Crete* (London, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1970).
- PARROT, ANDRÉ *Sumer* (Paris, Gallimard, 1960).
- *Assur* (Paris, Gallimard, 1961).
- PEETERS, PAUL «L'intervention politique de Constance II dans la Grande Arménie en 338», *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales et slaves*, 8 (1951), pp. 222-250.
- PERROT, JEAN «Suse 1974», in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran. Tehran, Iran, 2nd-7th November 1974* (Tehran, Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, 1975), pp. 213-218.
- «Introduction», in *Id. et al.*, «La séquence archéologique de Suse et du sud-ouest de l'Iran antérieurement à la période achéménide. Actes de la Rencontre internationale de Suse (Iran) du 23 au 28 octobre 1977», *Paléorient*, 4 (1978), pp. 133-138.
- PERROT, JEAN and DANIEL LADIRAY «Travaux à l'Apadana (1969-1971)», *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*, 2 (1974), pp. 13-60.
- POPE, ARTHUR U. «Islamic Architecture; The Saffavid Period», in *Id. ed.*, *A Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1938-1939): 2, pp. 1165-1226.
- POUGATCHENKOVA G.A., «La culture de la Bactriane du nord à la lumière des découvertes archéologiques dans la vallée du Sourkhandarya» in: *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie Centrale des origines à la conquête islamique* (Paris, Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977), pp. 281-295.
- PUECH, HENRI-CHARLES *Le manichéisme: son fondateur, sa doctrine* (Paris, [1949] seconde éd. 1967).
- REUTHER, OSCAR *Das Wohnhaus in Bagdad und anderen Städten des Irak*, Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft, 16 (Berlin, Wasmuth, 1910).
- *Die Innerstadt von Babylon*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Oriental-Gesellschaft, 47 (Leipzig, Heinrichs, 1926).
- «The German Excavations at Ctesiphon», *Antiquity*, 3 (1929), pp. 434-451.
- «Parthian Architecture: A. History», in A.U. POPE ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1938-1939): 1, pp. 411-444.
- «Sasanian Architecture: A. History», in A.U. POPE ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1938-1939): 1, pp. 493-570.
- RICE, DAVID TALBOT *Art Byzantin* (Paris, Elsevier, 1959).
- «The Leaved Cross», in *Id. et al.*, *Byzantine Art and its Influences* (London, Variorum Reprints,

- 1973), pp. 71-81.
- RICE, TAMARA TALBOT *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1965).
- ROAF, MICHAEL and DAVID STRONACH «Tepe Nush-i Jan, 1970: Second Interim Report», *Iran*, 11 (1973), pp. 129-138.
- ROES, ANNES «Un ancien symbole persique», *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, 52 (1950), pp. 5-10.
- ROOT, MARGARET COOL *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, *Acta Iranica*, 19 (Leiden, Brill, 1979).
- ROSEN-AYALON, MARIAM *La poterie islamique*, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, 50 (Paris, Paul Geuther, 1974).
- [RUFIIUS FESTUS], *The Breviarium of Festus: A Critical Edition with Historical Commentary*, J.W. Eadie ed. (London, Athlone Press, 1967).
- SAFAR FUAD and MOHAMMAD ALI MUSTAFA *Hatra. The City of the Sun God* (Baghdad, Directorate General of Antiquities, 1974).
- SAJJADI, S. MANSUR S. «A Class of Sasanian Ceramics from Southwestern Iran», *Rivista di Archeologia*, XIII (1989), pp. 31-40.
- SALEH, AHMAD AL 'ALI «Al-Mada'in and its Surrounding Area in Arabic Literary Sources», *Mesopotamia*, 3 (1968), pp. 417-439.
- SALLES, GEORGES «Nouveaux documents sur les fouilles de Chapour, IVme et Vme campagnes», *Revue des arts asiatiques*, 13 (1939-1942), pp. 93-100.
- SALLES, GEORGES and ROMAN GHIRSHMAN «Chapour, rapport préliminaire de la première campagne de fouilles (automne 1935-printemps 1936)», *Revue des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), pp. 117-129.
- SARFARĀZ, 'ALI AKBAR «Anāhītā, Ma'bad-e 'Azīm-e Bīšāpūr» (Anāhītā, the Great Temple at Bīšāpūr), in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, Tehran, Iran, 2nd-7th November 1974* (Tehran, Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, 1975): Persian section, pp. 91-110.
- «Bīšāpūr» (in Persian), in M. KIYĀNT ed., *Šahrhā-ye Irān* (Iranian Cities), 4 vols. (Tehran, Jahad-e Dāneshgāhi, 1986-1991), 4, pp. 22-74.
- SARRE, FRIEDRICH *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra, vol. II (Berlin, Reimer, 1925).
- SARRE, FRIEDRICH and ERNST HERZFELD *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet*, 3 vols. (Berlin, Reimer, 1911-1920).
- SAURAT, ANNE and ZAHRA JAFFAR MOHAMMADI *Exposition des dernières découvertes archéologiques, 1976-1977*, *Musée Iran Bastan*, 31 oct.-30 nov., 1977, Tehran.
- SCHIPPMMANN, KLAUS *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1971).
- SCHLUMBERGER, DANIEL *L'orient hellénisé* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1970).
- SCHMIDT, ERICH F. *Persepolis*, 3 vols., The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, LXVIII-LXX (Chicago, University Press, 1953-1970).
- SCHMIDT, HEINRICH J. «L'expédition de Ctésiphon en 1931-1932», *Syria*, 15 (1934), pp. 1-23.
- SCHROEDER, ERIC «Islamic Architecture: C. Standing Monuments of the First period», in A.U. POPE ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, 6 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1938-1939): 2, pp. 930-966.
- SCHWARTZ, MARTIN «The Religion of Achaemenian Iran», in W.B. FISHER et al. eds. *Cambridge History of Iran*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1968-1985): 2, pp. 664-697.
- SEECK, OTTO «Sapor I.-III.», in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, Zweite Reihe (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1920-1972): I, col. 2325-2355.
- SHAFFER, JIM G. «The Later Prehistoric Period», in F.R. ALLCHIN and N. HAMMOND eds., *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from Earliest Times to the Timurid Period* (London, Academic Press, 1978), pp. 71-186.
- SHEPHERD, DOROTHY G. «Two Silver Rhyta», *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 3 (1966), pp. 286-311.
- SKJAERVØ, PRODS O., «Part 3.1; Restored Text and Translation» in HUMBACH, H. and P.O. SKJAERVØ, *The Sasanian Inscriptions of Paikuli* (Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert, 1983), pp. 21-74.
- SMIRNOV, J.I. «Bibliographical Notice on Argenterie Orientale», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18 (1909), pp. 673-681.
- SPRENGLING, MARTIN «Shahpuhr I the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ)», *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 57 (1940), pp. 341-429.
- *Third Century Iran; Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago, Prepared and Distributed at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1953).
- SPÜLER, BERTOLD *Iran in Früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1952). Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlichung der orientalischen Kommission, II.
- STEIN, AUREL «An Archaeological Tour in Ancient Persis», *Iraq*, 3 (1936), pp. 111-230.
- *Archaeological Reconnaissance in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran* (London, Macmillan, 1937).
- *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London, Macmillan, 1940).
- *Innermost Asia: Detailed Reports of Explorations*

- in *Central Asia, Kan-su, and Eastern Iran*, 5 vols. (New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, [1928] Reprint 1981).
- STEIN, ERNEST *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2 vols. J.-R. PLANQUE trans. (Paris, de Brouwer, 1959-1968).
- STRONACH, DAVID «Tepe Nūsh-i Jān, 1970: Second Interim Report», *Iran* XI, pp. 129-140.
- *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978).
- «Excavations at Tepe Nush-i Jan», in *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archaeologie, München, 7.-10. September 1976* (Berlin, Reimer, 1979), pp. 157-159.
- «Notes on Religion in Iran in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.», *Acta Iranica*, 23, 2nd Series IX (Leiden, Brill, 1984), pp. 479-490.
- «On the Evolution of the Early Iranian Fire Temple», *Acta Iranica*, 25, 2nd Series XI (Leiden, Brill, 1985), pp. 605-627.
- STRZYGOWSKI, JOSEF *Die altslavische Kunst* (Augsburg, Fisher, 1939).
- TABARI *Annales*, 3 vols., DE GOEJE et al. ed. (Leiden, Brill, 1879-1884).
- [TANSAR] *The Letter of Tansar*, MARY BOYCE trans. (Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968).
- TAQIZADEH, S. HOSEYN «The Early Sasanians: Some Chronological Points Which Possibly Call for Revision», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11 (1943-1946), pp. 6-51.
- TAVOOSI, MAHMUD and RICHARD N. FRYE «An Inscribed Capital Dating from the Time of Shapur I», *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 3 (1989), pp. 25-38.
- THOMPSON, DEBORAH *Stucco from Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad Near Rayy* (London, Aris and Phillips, 1976).
- TREVER, CAMILLA «A propos des temples de la déesse Anahita en Iran sassanide», *Iranica Antiqua*, VII (1967), pp. 121-132.
- TRÜMPELMANN, LEO *Das sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mashad, Iranische Denkmäler* 5, Reihe II, Iranische Felsreliefs A (Berlin, Reimer, 1975).
- TUCCI, GIUSEPPE «A Review of Giorgio Gullini, Architettura iranica...», *East and West*, 16 (1966), pp. 143-147.
- UPTON, JOSEPH M. «The Expedition to Ctesiphon, 1931-1932», *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXVII (1932), pp. 188-197.
- VANDEN BERGHE, LOUIS *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, Brill, 1959).
- «Reconnaissance archéologique dans le Fars méridional et au Laristan», in *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses. München, 28. Aug.-4. Sept. 1957* (Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1959), pp. 485-488.
- «Récentes découvertes de monuments sassanides dans le Fars», *Iranica Antiqua*, I (1961), pp. 163-198.
- «Nouvelles découvertes de monuments du feu d'époque sassanide», *Iranica Antiqua*, V (1965), pp. 128-142.
- VANDEN BERGHE, LOUIS et al., *Reliefs rupestres de l'Iran ancien. Catalogue d'exposition. Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 26 Octobre 1983-29 Janvier 1984* (Bruxelles 1983).
- VAN INGEN, WILHELMINE *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Humanistic Series, XLV (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1939).
- VENCO RICCIARDI, ROBERTA «Sasanian Pottery from Tell Mahuz», *Mesopotamia*, 5-6 (1970-71), pp. 427-482.
- «Sasanian Pottery from Choche (Artisan's Quarter) and Tell Baruda», in *Arabie orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran méridional de l'Age du Fer au début de la période islamique* (Paris, Recherche sur les civilisations, 1984), pp. 49-57.
- VON GALL, HUBERTUS «Relieffragment eines elymaischen Königs aus Masged-e Soleiman», *Iranica Antiqua*, XV (1980), pp. 241-250.
- «Globus oder Diskus auf der Krone Hosrows II? Zur Datierung des grossen Iwan von Taq-i Bostan», *Acta Iranica*, 23, 2nd Series IX (Leiden, Brill, 1984), pp. 179-190.
- WACHTSMUTH, FRIEDRICH «Die Bau funde», in E. KÜHNEL et al., *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition, Winter 1931-1932* (Berlin, Islamische Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen 1933), pp. 1-16.
- WEST, E.W. trans. «Bundahis», in *The Pahlavi Texts*, 5 vols., F.M. MÜLLER ed., Sacred Books of the East, V, XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, XLVII (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1880-1897): 5, pp. 1-187.
- trans. «The Dādistan-i Dīnīk», in *The Pahlavi Texts*, 5 vols., F.M. MÜLLER ed., Sacred Books of the East, V, XVIII, XXIV, XXXIV, XLVII (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1880-1897): 12, pp. 1-276.
- trans. «Dīnā-i Maīnōg-i Khirad», in *The Pahlavi Texts*, 5 vols., F.M. MÜLLER ed., Sacred Books of the East, V, XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, XLVII (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1880-1897): 3, pp. 1-113.
- WHITCOMB, DONALD S. *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985).

- WHITEHOUSE, DAVID «Excavations at Sirāf; First Interim Report», *Iran*, VI (1968), pp. 1-22.
- «Excavations at Sirāf; Third Interim Report», *Iran*, VIII (1970), pp. 1-18.
- «Excavation at Sirāf; Fifth Interim Report», *Iran*, X (1972), pp. 63-87.
- WHITEHOUSE, DAVID and A. WILLIAMSON «Sasanian Maritime Trade», *Iran*, XI (1973), pp. 29-49.
- WULFF, HANS E. *The Traditional Crafts of Persia* (London, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, [1966] reprint 1976).
- XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia*, 2 vols., W. MILLER trans., Loeb Classical Library, 51-52 (London, Heinemann and Putmans' Sons, 1914-1925).
- YAQUT *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse: Extrait du Mo'djem El-Bouldan*, C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD trans. (Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1861).
- YAR-SHATER, EHSAN «Were the Sasanians Heirs to the Achaemenids?», *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome, Accademia Nazionale di Lincei, 1971), pp. 519-531.
- ZEIMAL, E.V. «The Political History of Transoxiana», in W.B. FISHER *et al.* eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1968-1985): 3 (1), pp. 232-262.
- ZOSIMOS, *Histoire nouvelle*, 3 vols., F. PASCHOUD trans., Collection des Universités de France (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1971-1979).

PLATES











Pl. V - Unit 114 and the areas
to the north and west, view
from south







Pl. X - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label
1080-1-4: medium-sized bust.



Pl. XI - Stucco, cat. no. 24, field label
114 90 (a b). 24. medium-sized bust.





Pl. XIII - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label 1080-1-4
medium-sized bust.



Pl. XV - Stucco, cat. no. 23, field label 114-91
(a-b)-1; medium-sized bust of Bahram or Peruz Kū-
šānšāh



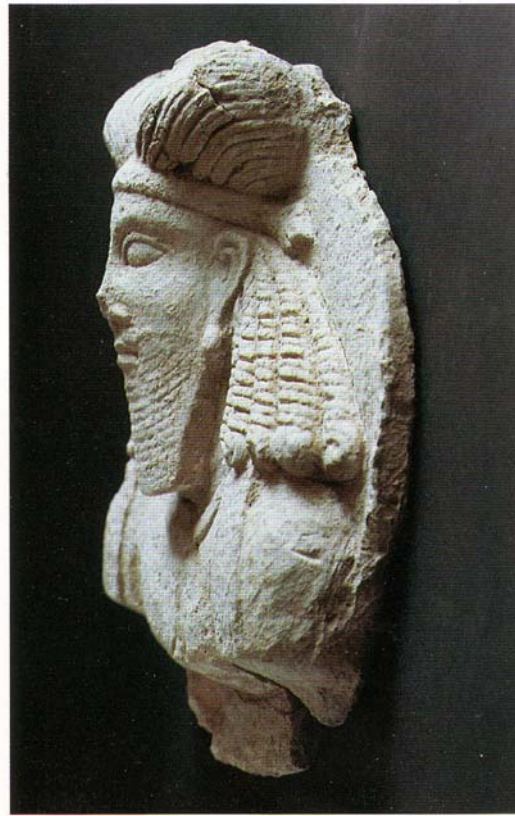
Pl. XIII - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label 1080-1-4; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XIV - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label 1080-1-4; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XV - Stucco, cat. no. 23, field label 114-91 (a-b)-1; medium-sized bust of Bahrām or Perūz Kūšānshāh.



Pl. XVI - Stucco, cat. no. 24, field label 114-90 (a-b)-24; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XVII - Stuccos, cat. no. 21, f. label 114-85-5;
medium sized bust, cat. no. 24, f. label 114-90 (a-
b)-24; medium-sized busts and cat. no. 4, f. label
1026-1-47; triangular plaque with floral pattern.





Pl. XVIII - Stuccos, cat. no. 20, field labels 114-95
(a-b)-30 and 114-84-31; medium-sized busts of Šāpūr
II



Pl XXI - Stucco, cat. no. 38, f.





Pl. XXVII - Unit 114 by the end of the excavations (the plaque with number 113 should be ignored)

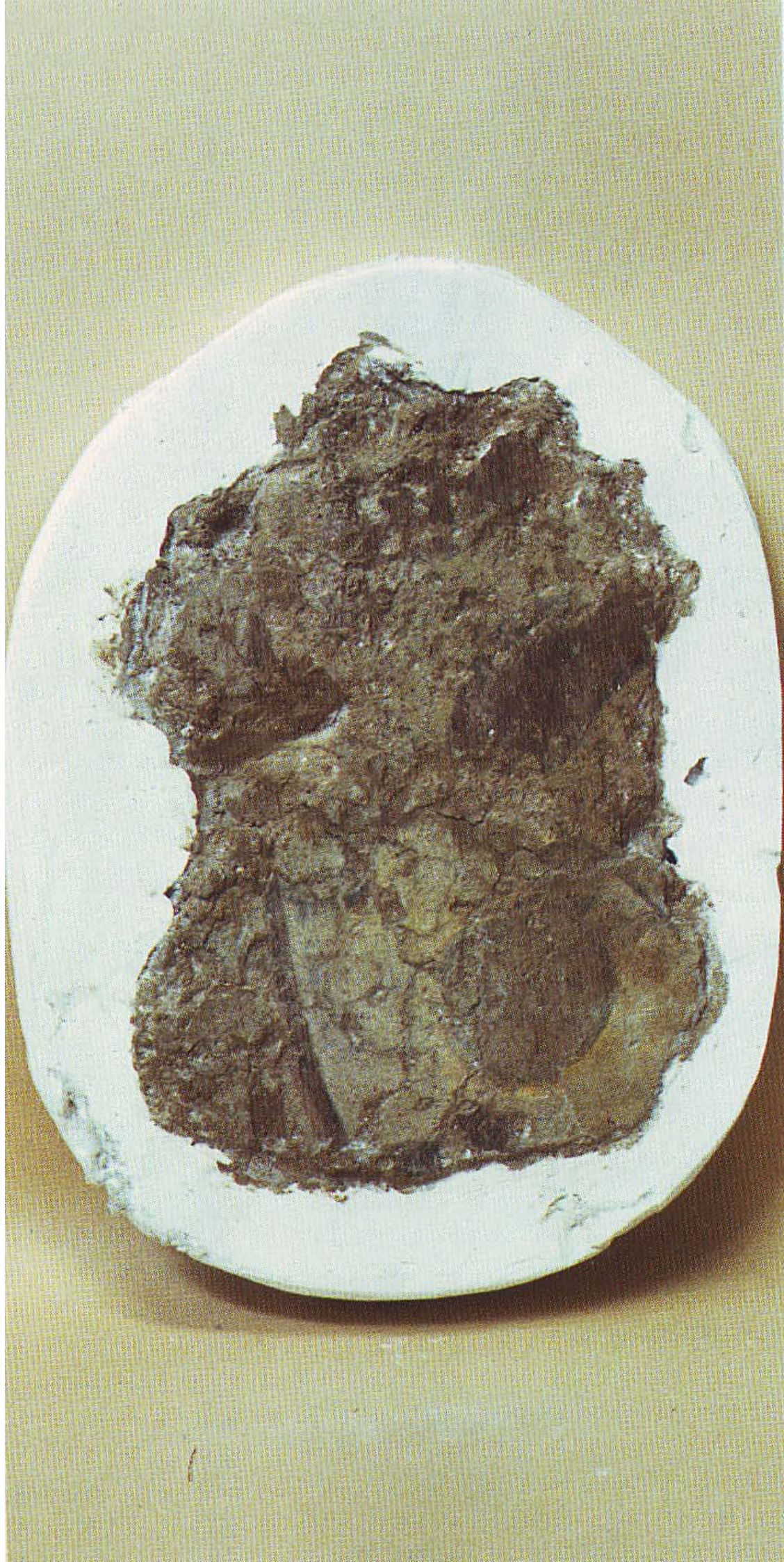


Pl. XXIV - Stucco, cat. no. 40, field label 114-92-28; small-sized nude child.











Pl. XXXV - Mural, cat. no. 4A-B, field label 150-4; under life-sized portraits of two male personages. 4A is probably



Pl. XXXIV - Mural, cat. no. 6, field label 150-6; damaged face of an under life-sized portrait.



Pl. XXXII - Mural, cat. no. 4B, field label 150-4; under life-sized portrait of a male personage.



Pl. XXXIII - Mural, cat. no. 5, field label 150-5; damaged face and head of an under life-sized portrait



Pl. I - Courtyard 178, view from south.



Pl. II - Courtyard 178, view from north.



Pl. III - Site I (the excavated site), general view from north.



Pl. IV - Courtyard 147 and the neighboring units, view from north.



Pl. V - Unit 114 and the areas to the north and west, view from north.



Pl. VI - Courtyard 147 and the areas to the west, general view from north.



Pl. VII - Stucco, cat. no. 17 field label: Museum no. 8; large-scale bust of Šāpūr II.



Pl. VIII - Stucco, cat. no. 18, field label 1219-1-2; large-scale bust.



Pl. IX - Stucco, cat. no. 21, field label 114-85-5; medium-sized bust.



Pl. X - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label 1080-1-4; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XI - Stucco, cat. no. 24, field label 114-90 (a-b)-24; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XII - Stucco, cat. no. 25, field label 114-72 to 74-25; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XVII - Stuccos, cat. no. 21, f. label 114-85-5; medium sized bust, cat. no. 24, f. label 114-90 (a-b)-24; medium-sized busts and cat. no. 4, f. label 1026-1-47; triangular plaque with floral pattern.



Pl. XVIII - Stuccos, cat. no. 20, field labels 114-95 (a-b)-30 and 114-84-31; medium-sized busts of Šāpūr II.



Pls. XIX-XX - Stucco, cat. no. 34, field label: Museum no. 4; head of a large-scale dressed female figure.



Pl. XXI - Stucco, cat. no. 38, f. label: Museum no. 1; small-sized figure.



Pls. XXII-XXIII - Stuccos, cat. no. 39, f. labels 114-92 (a-b)-30 and 114-84-31; medium-sized busts of Šāpūr II.





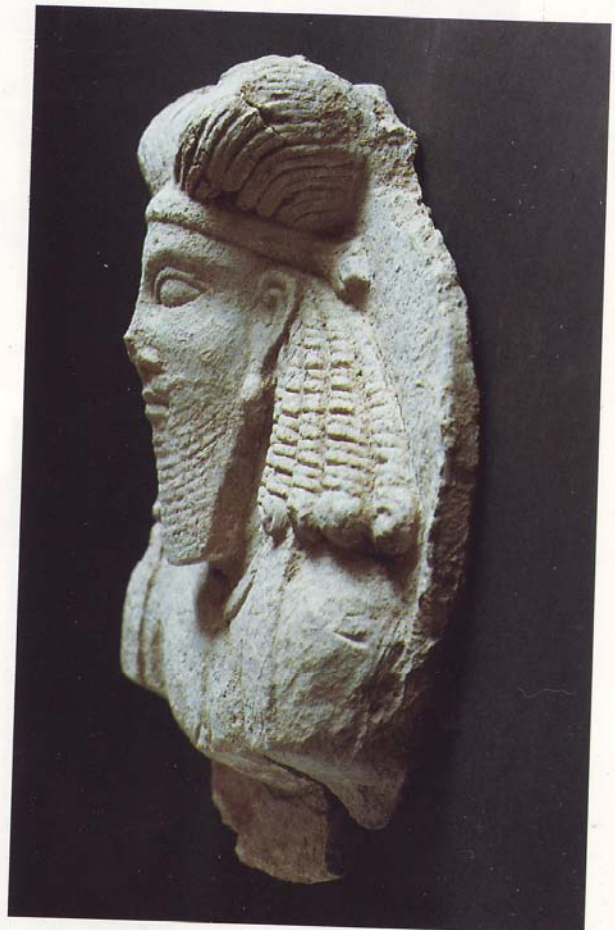
Pl. XIII - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label 1080-1-4; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XIV - Stucco, cat. no. 22, field label 1080-1-4; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XV - Stucco, cat. no. 23, field label 114-91 (a-b)-1; medium-sized bust of Bahram or Peruz Kūšānshāh.



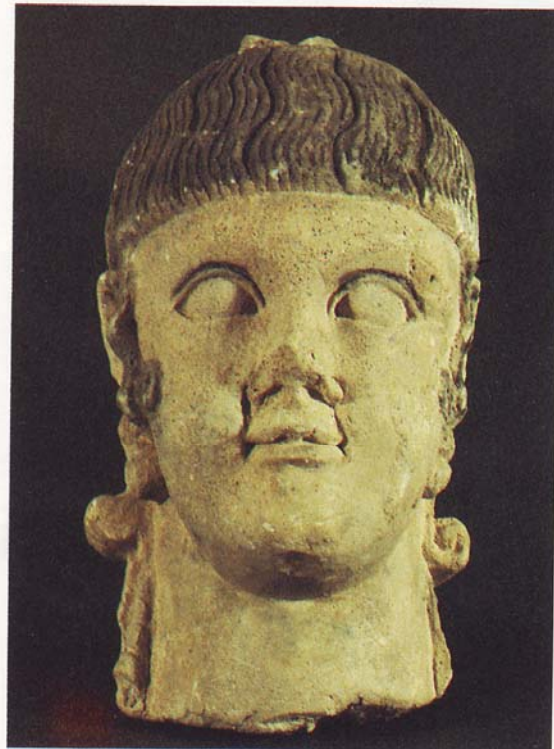
Pl. XVI - Stucco, cat. no. 24, field label 114-90 (a-b)-24; medium-sized bust.



Pl. XVII - Stuccos, cat. no. 21, f. label 114-85-5; medium sized bust, cat. no. 24, f. label 114-90 (a-b)-24; medium-sized busts and cat. no. 4, f. label 1026-1-47; triangular plaque with floral pattern.



Pl. XVIII - Stuccos, cat. no. 20, field labels 114-95 (a-b)-30 and 114-84-31; medium-sized busts of Šāpūr II.



Pls. XIX-XX - Stucco, cat. no. 34, field label: Museum no. 4; head of a large-scale dressed female figure.



Pl. XXI - Stucco, cat. no. 38, f. label: Museum no. 1; small-sized statuette.



Pls. XXII-XXIII - Stuccos, cat. no. 39, f. labels 114-92 (a-b-c)-26 and 114-37-12; profile of f. label 114-92 (a-b-c)-26; small-sized statuettes.

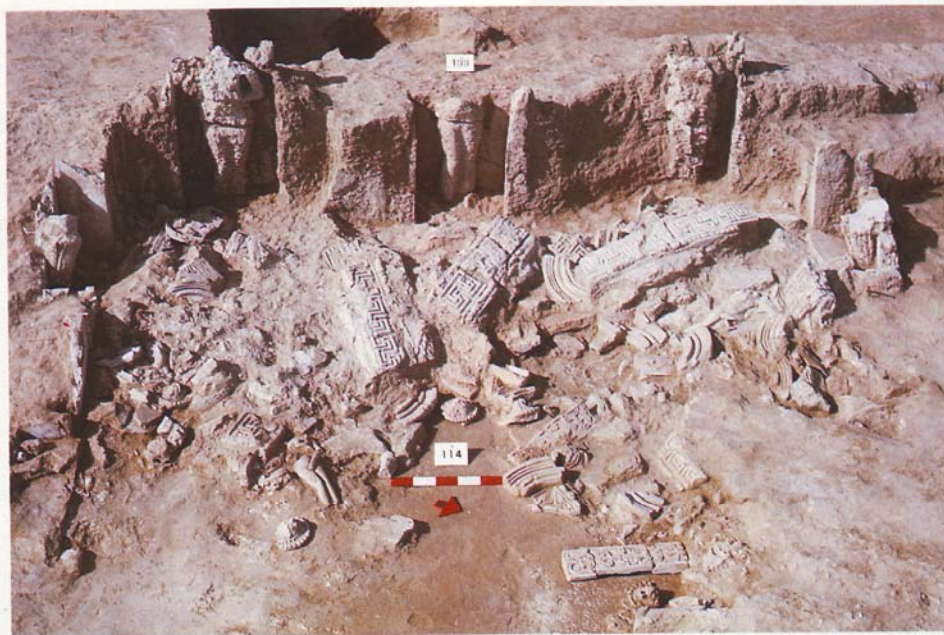




Pl. XXIV - Stucco, cat. no. 40, field label 114-92-28; small-sized nude child.



Pl. XXV - Stucco, cat. no. 52, field label 114-93-29; crouching human-headed bull.



Pl. XXVI - Unit 114 and the fallen stuccos.



Pl. XXVII - Unit 114 by the end of the excavations (the plaque with number 113 should be ignored).



Pl. XXVIII - Mural, cat. no. 1, field label 150-1; a long band decorated with half ovals.



Pl. XXIX - Mural, cat. no. 3, field label 150-3; over-sized portrait of a male personage.



Pl. XXX - Mural, cat. no. 7, field label 150-7; hind quarter of a horse (?).



Pl. XXXI - Mural, cat. no. 8, field label 150-8; hind quarter of a horse (?) and the hooves of another horse in pursuit of the first (?).



Pl. XXXII - Mural, cat. no. 4B, field label 150-4; under life-sized portrait of a male personage.



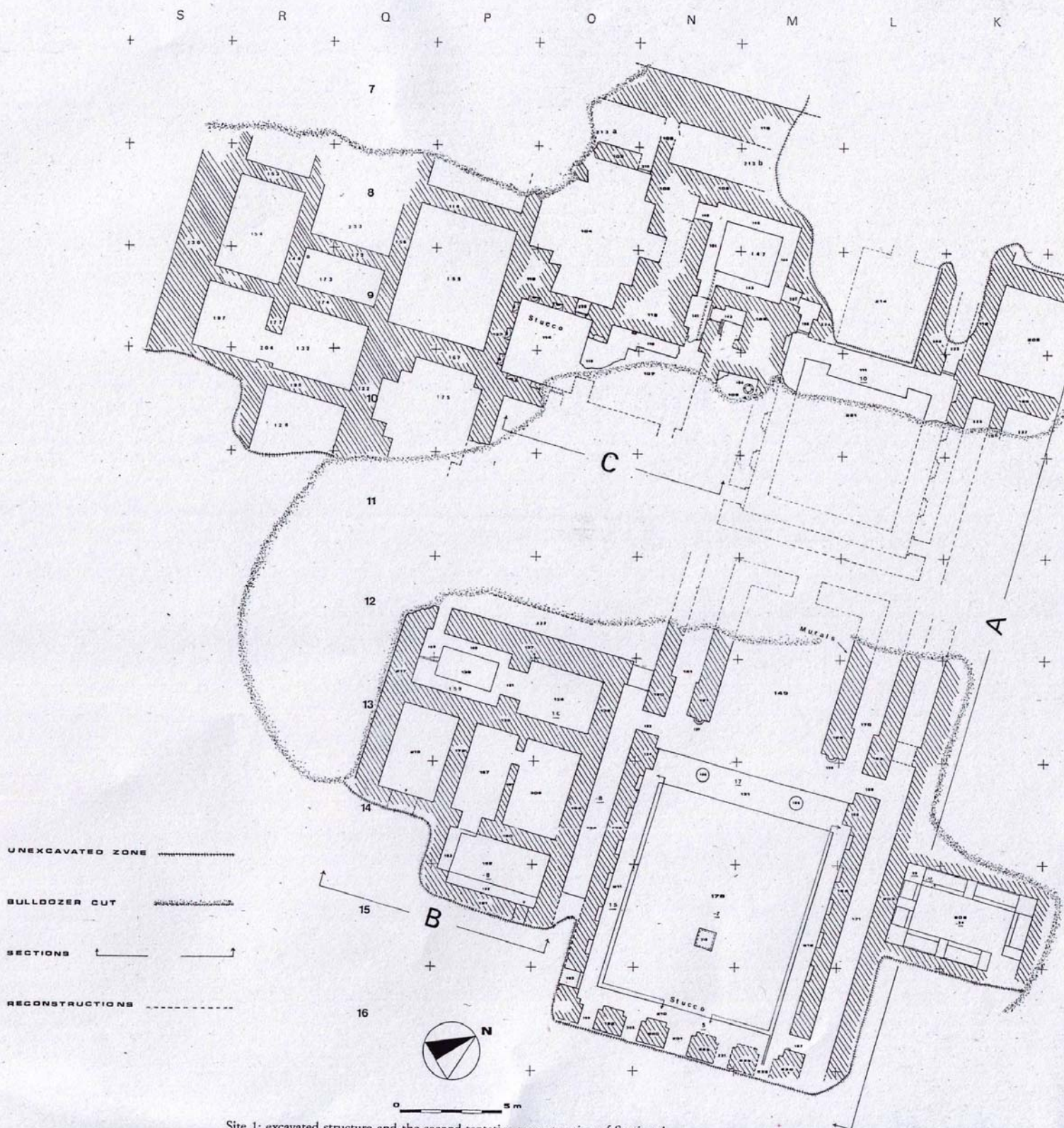
Pl. XXXIII - Mural, cat. no. 5, field label 150-5; damaged face and head of an under life-sized portrait.



Pl. XXXIV - Mural, cat. no. 6, field label 150-6; damaged face of an under life-sized portrait.



Pl. XXXV - Mural, cat. no. 4A-B, field label 150-4; under life-sized portraits of two male personages. 4A is probably Hormizd Kūšānšāh.

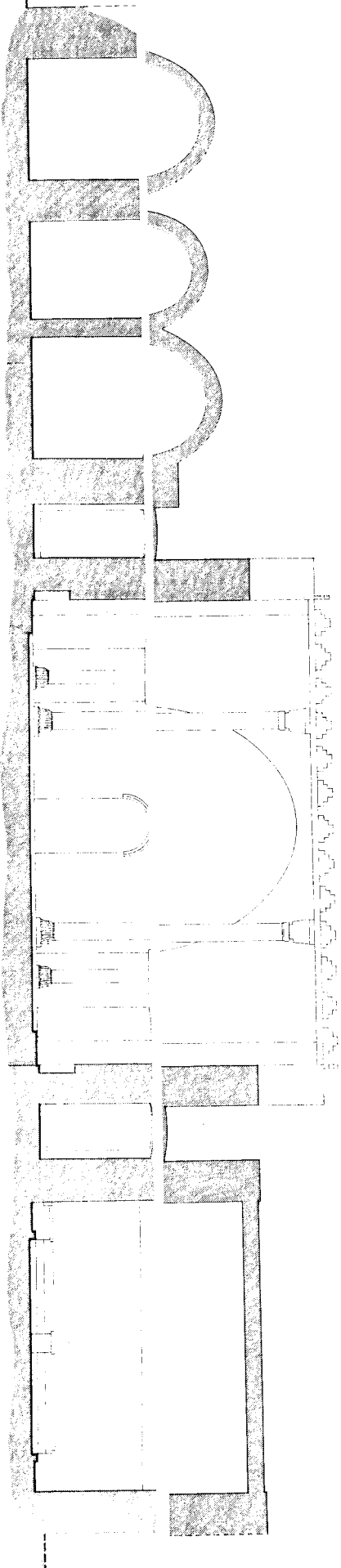




Site 1: excavated structure and the second tentative reconstruction of Section A

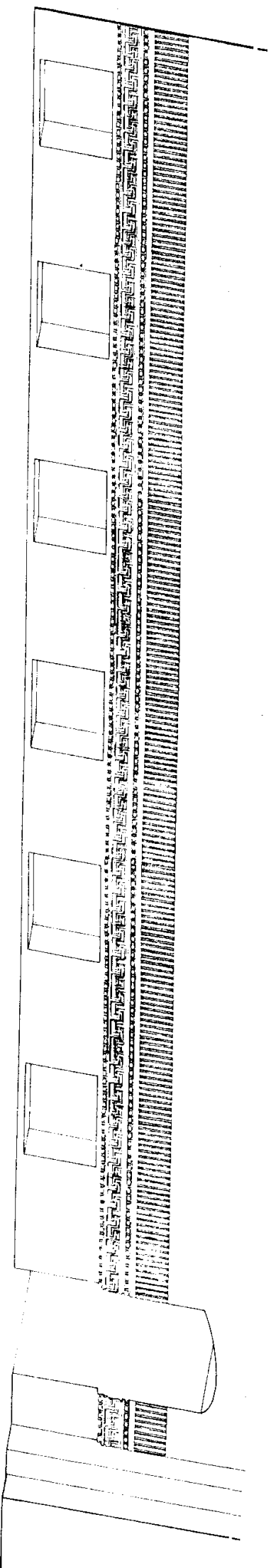


Site 1 (Tollu) Sedimentary structure and the first tentative reconstruction of Section A.

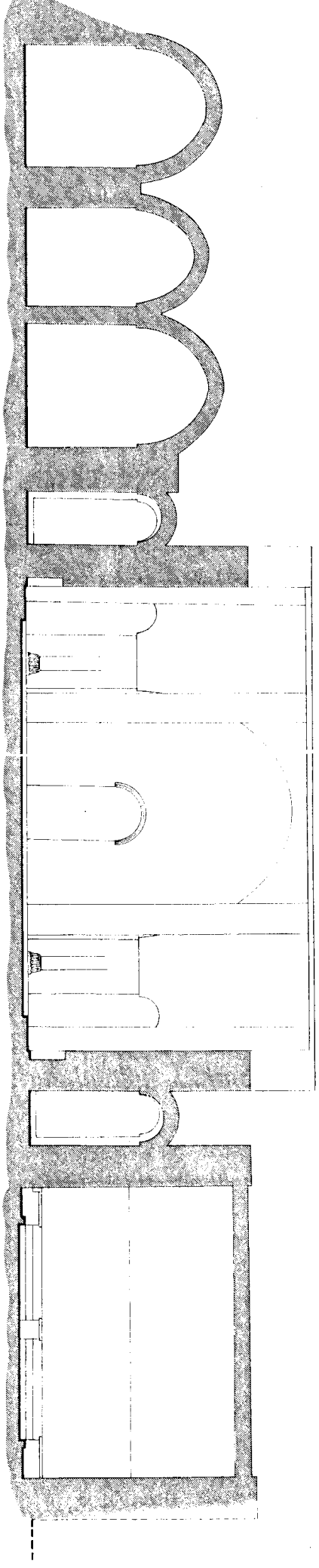


2 - Site 1; second tentative reconstruction of the façade of portico 131 and eivan 149.

0 2 m

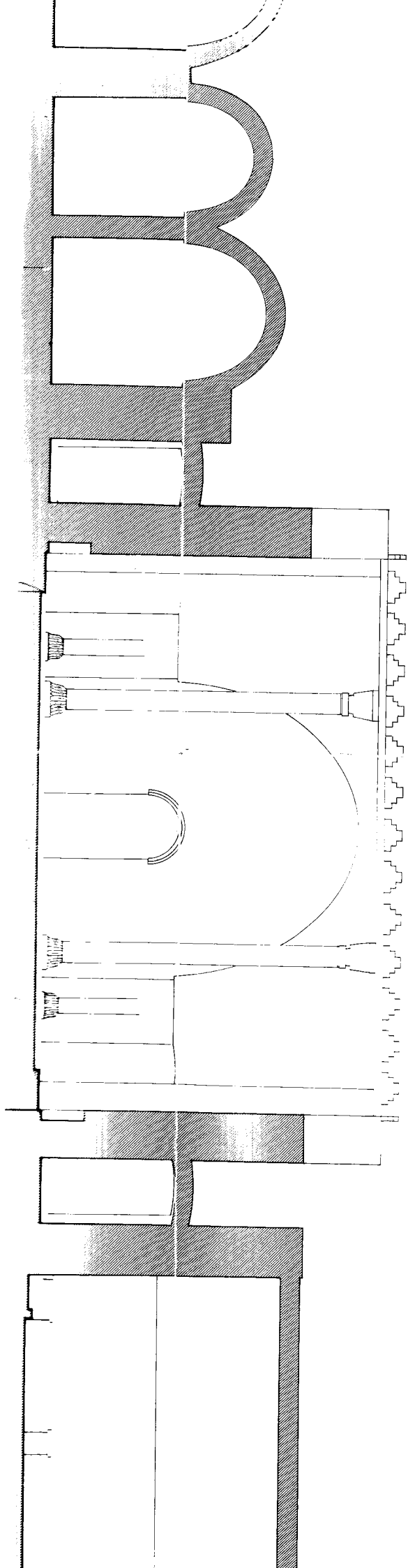


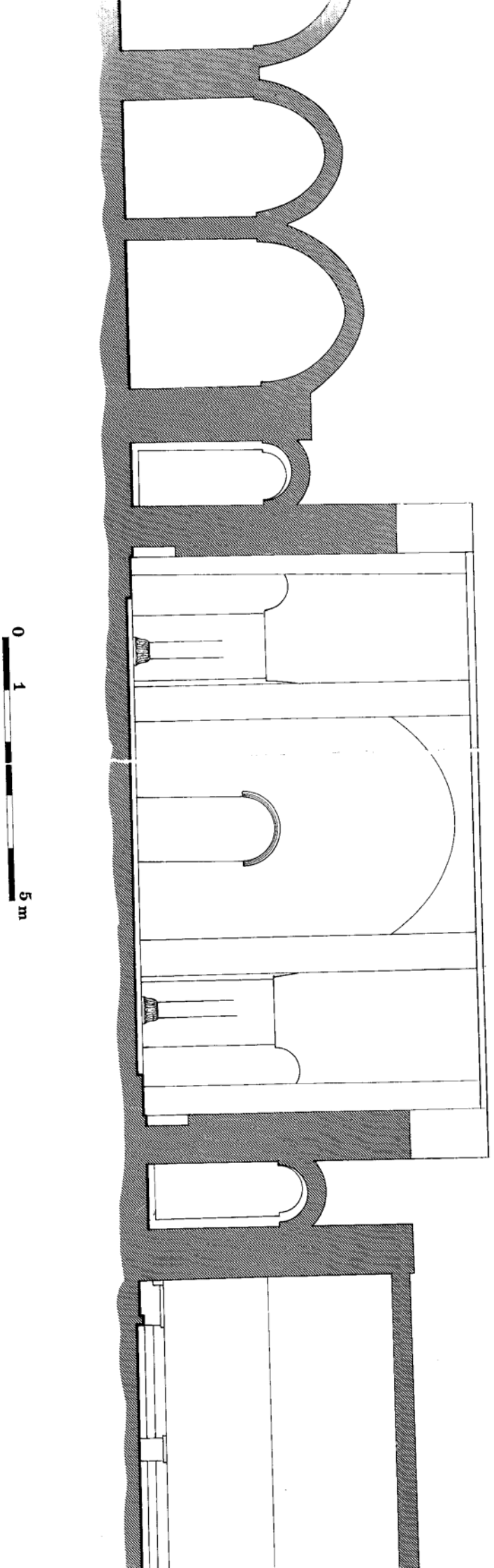
3 - Site I; tentative reconstruction of wall 125 and its decorative order.



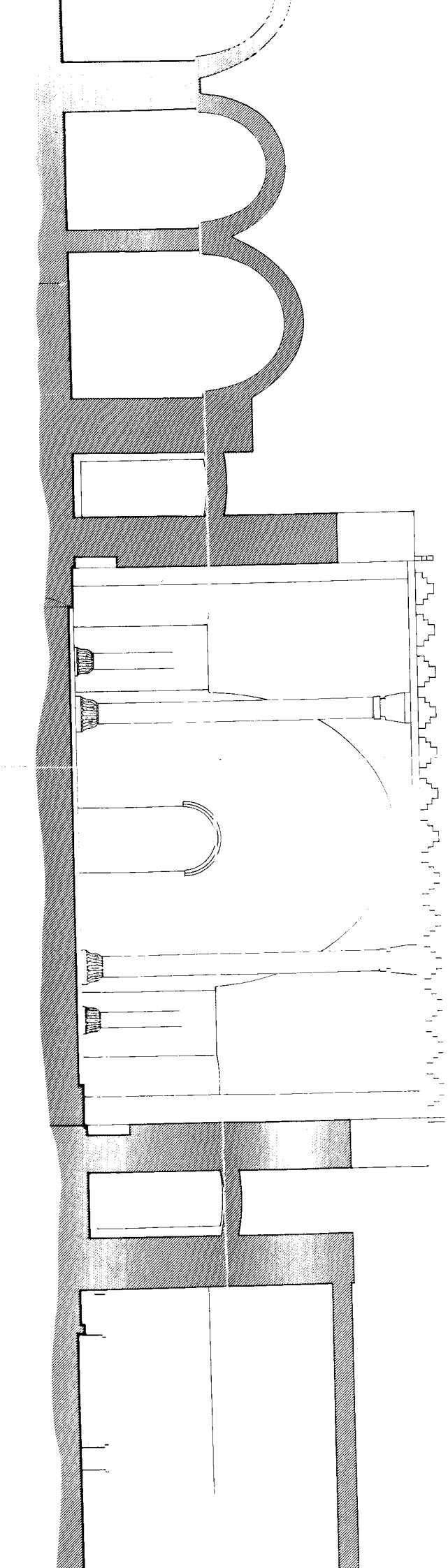
0 1 5 m

1 - Site 1, first tentative reconstruction of the façade of portico 131 and cayan 149.





1 - Site 1; first tentative reconstruction of the façade of portico 131 and cyvan 149.



2 - Site 1; second tentative reconstruction of the façade of portico 131 and eyvan 149.